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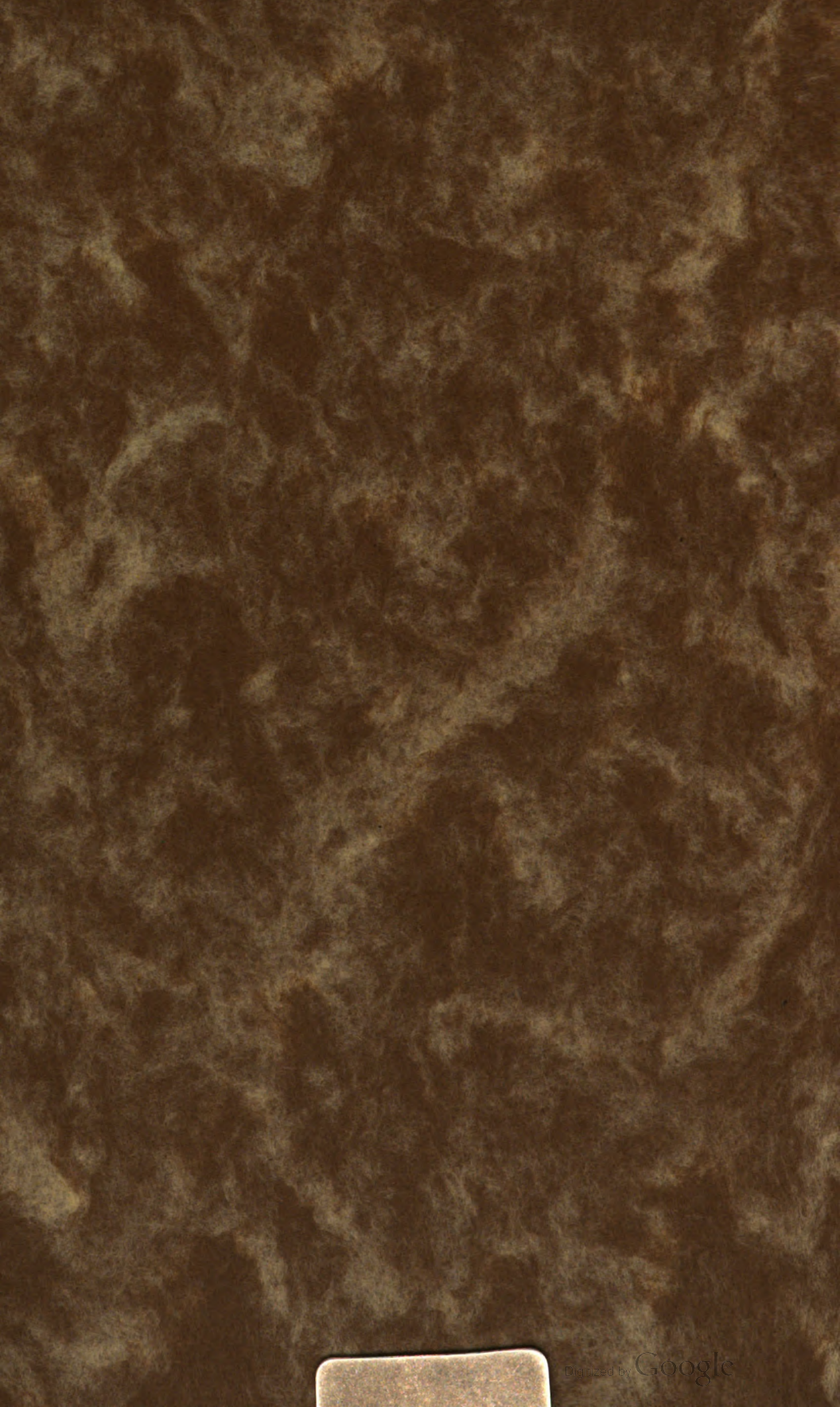
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THE
AUSTRALIAN
PROTECTIONIST

BY
FRANCIS GOULD SMITH,
PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

Melbourne:
PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR.
1877.

M'CARRON, BIRD & Co., PRINTERS, 37 FLINDERS LANE WEST, MELBOURNE.

821.14v.33

THE M'KINLEY TARIFF.

A GREAT ENGLISH FIRM TO BE
Argus WOUND UP. *27/8/92*

LONDON, Aug. 26.

The well-known firm of Sir Titus Salt, Bart., Sons, and Co. Limited, of Saltaire, Yorkshire, manufacturers of woollen and other fabrics, is to be wound up.

This decision has been come to in consequence of the falling-off in the firm's business with the United States caused by the operation of the M'Kinley tariff.

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R.B.



"Industry and Frugality" are the "Pillars of Wealth and Progress;" "Luxury and Prodigality" the "Sink of Iniquity and Ruin;" of Nations as well as of individuals.—F. G. SMITH.

"A Nation, whether it consumes its own productions, or with them purchases from abroad, can have no more to spend than it produces. Therefore, the supreme policy of every Nation is to develop its own resources."—BYLES, Barrister.

"The most profitable sales to a NATION are those made from one producer to another within the Nation: that is to say, from the agriculturalist and pastoralist to the manufacturer; and from the manufacturer to the agriculturalist and to the pastoralist."—J. B. SAY, of France.

P R E F A C E.

IN the following matter I will endeavour to explain my calm and unprejudiced and fully matured researches, considerations, and final convictions relative to the state of New South Wales, in connection with her present (1876) policy of "Free-trade," "Emigration," and "Land Laws;" with this unflinching confidence in the soundness of my conclusions, the integrity of the colonists, and the imperative necessity of a change in our polity, that after these principles have suffered the usual persecution of tongues and pens which naturally and constantly accompany all new proposals—especially those of an unpopular political tendency—for a while, they will ultimately, the most of them, if not all, come to be generally received, and honoured, by a discriminating public, with the sanction, power, and effect of law. Nevertheless, I am fully conscious of my own want of ability to effectively grapple with these subjects, as they undoubtedly merit.

I desire, most sincerely and respectfully, to assure you, dear readers and fellow-electors, who may hold opposite opinions to mine, that I have not dared to thus come before so enlightened a people, till I have been forced, from practical and studied experience in these colonies, extending to and during a period of over twenty-six years.

When I began to write this book, I did not intend to enlarge upon so many matters or particulars; for the reason principally because nothing can be said or done for the public good, but will cross the particular ends as well as opinions of many private persons; and the more is said the greater the opposition.

INTRODUCTION.

IN contemplating the affairs of a nation, it will be found that the same principles and rules will apply as those to which individuals resort on all emergencies, where in extensive and complicated transactions, recourse is had to an accurate view of the resources in possession, and to the means of rendering those resources as productive as possible. The resources of a nation are derived from the productive labour of the people, and this labour is augmented or diminished according to forms of government and the intelligence, ability, and zeal, or the want of those qualities, in those of our parliamentary representatives who, from their ability or other causes, are chosen to direct the affairs of a state or empire. The earth, with its oceans of water and of air, forms the great storehouse from which we draw the means of support and employment. The animals and plants upon its surface, and the produce of its teeming rivers, furnish us with food and clothing; the stone, the metals, and the coal laid up in its crust supply us with the means of shelter, with various tools and other implements, and with fuel. Several facts connected herewith are part of our earliest history and experience. Firstly—There is in the world an infinitely large number of substances adapted for our service in health and in sickness. Secondly—These substances are distributed so as that every region has its special treasures. Thirdly—The inhabitants of any one region may, by exchanging, become possessed of the abundance and variety of all other regions. If, for instance, the South Australians have plenty of wheat and flour, but a scarcity of coal and iron, and thus find themselves possessed of enough bread, but without either coal or iron to enable them to successfully manufacture their own implements of agriculture and their own domestic hardware, &c., while the people of New South Wales have both coal and iron to spare, but want wheat and flour, each may interchange, and both become well supplied with said articles. In writing of the natural resources of any country, reference is intended to the ore in the earth, the stone unquarried, the timber unfelled, the native plants and animals, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, &c., to all those latent elements of wealth only awaiting the labour of man to become of use, of value, a source of wealth and revenue, and finally of the first necessity to the independent existence of a most prosperous nation. Raw produce has another and an extended meaning, and, therefore, brings in tillage of the soil, cattle-rearing and sheep-breeding, &c., &c., which procure a greater abundance of corn, fruit, and flesh food than the natural state of things could possibly supply.

We measure a country's civilisation by the extent of its productions and diffusion of knowledge. Barbarous tribes pass their time away in providing for their recurring appetites only, and cannot be said to fully enjoy their existence, at least in the sense of mental enjoyments. It has been said of old, that he who makes two blades of grass grow, where only one grew before, is a benefactor to his fellow-men. Though Corinth produced what may be called Birmingham and Sheffield wares, and Athens was the centre of manufactures which we now find divided between Leeds and Staffordshire and London, yet coal was not known to the Greeks or Romans : it was not used even in England till the 16th century, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This one product has been the main cause of a complete revolution in our national industry. Now, every civilised country has its railroad, its gas and coal, and iron has changed the character of our ships and our mariners. Before coal was discovered for steam and smelting purposes, the sites of our manufacturing towns were seen only by the side of mill-streams, and forests were the seats of smelting operations of those days. Those forest fires are now extinguished, and the fabrication of iron machinery and all works in iron have travelled to the coal-fields, which have now become the most densely populated parts of the kingdom, and scenes of the busiest industries, and the sources of immense national and individual wealth. Wool was once the staple industry of England, but now it is nominal only in comparison with iron and coal. The introduction on the Continent of the silk-worm, more than one thousand years ago, gave rise to the unrivalled manufactures of the South of France, and originated one of the chief elements of the wealth of Italy and Greece. The Chilian potato has provided food for many millions of people, and in three hundred years has reached a perfection in Europe, to which the lazy Mexicans would never have brought it.

THE STATE OF NEW SOUTH WALES IN 1848-50.

I desire, most particularly, to impress upon the minds of my readers, that I was at one time a staunch "Free-trader" in 1848-9-50-51-52 : that I signed the petition for Free-trade between Great Britain and New South Wales at Parramatta in the year 1849.

I know from my own experience that trade was then depressed to an extent never before known in Australia, that wages generally were low and money exceedingly scarce. We Australians could not see the source of this undesirable state of public affairs, and we were made to believe it was owing to the want of wise legislation on the part of N. S. W., that an enactment of Parliament to do away with customs duties alone could save the colony from perfect ruin. We were told that as money was so very scarce, and wages consequently low, there was not any other way by which we could improve our present circumstances but by PURCHASING our clothing and every other necessary of life in the CHEAPEST MARKET. That by these means we should be enabled to live comfortably and absolutely save money for old age ! Gold was discovered at the Ophir, near Bathurst, in 1851, and this accident prevented many from seeing the suicidal consequences of our rashness in permitting our markets to be glutted by foreign nations with articles we could ourselves produce. I had my senses whetted on the goldfields of Victoria, in political discussions with men of MANY NATIONS, including the Americans. I now gave myself up to study the cause—for I saw the effects—of our depression in earlier days. I soon found out the absolute cause to have arisen with the emancipation of New South Wales, and consequently the withdrawal from this colony by the

British Government of many thousands of pounds yearly, which previously had been expended in the colony for the maintenance of the public service, in payment of the salaries to the military and civil officers of the Crown, who were then stationed here at the expense of the British Government. This fact, together with the absurdly high price of Crown lands, assisted emigration, was the certain cause of the want of money in New South Wales during the above years. And had *not* Mr. Hargreaves been successful in discovering gold at the Ophir in the year 1851, and in view of our newly introduced Free-trade system, which took so many thousands of pounds sterling a year out of the colony from that date to this present hour, I am prepared to affirm successfully that no earthly power, short of total abolishment of Free-trade, could save this young and minerally wealthy colony from overwhelming and perfect ruin. Facts are stubborn arguments, and it is a positive fact that New South Wales, notwithstanding her free and unrestricted commerce, her high price of waste Crown lands, her free and assisted system of emigration, and the wealth of her mines, she was in manifestly declining prosperity from 1859 to 1870!! It is also clearly seen that all the above alleged advantages could not suffice to induce any fair and reasonable *bona-fide* settlement on the lands of the Crown, of the vast population that landed in those years on our shores,—such, for instance, as were induced to settle in that infant State CALIFORNIA, notwithstanding her uncompromising and jealous protectionist system of legislation. The INSOLVENT COURT, Sydney, will furnish ample history of the unprecedented number and amount of failures of too many of the leading mercantile firms and other business houses of New South Wales in those years. And I AM ALSO PREPARED to affirm beyond the possibility of doubt, that nothing else but the great wealth of our gold, copper, tin, etc., mines, which were in 1870, so fortunately for this colony's financial embarrassment, unprecedentedly developed at this most critical period, when the Colonial Treasurer was driven to his wits' ends to discover some mode of meeting his liabilities, rescued her a second time from ruin. It is a well-known fact he wrote about this period to the manager of, I think, the Oriental Bank in London—who had been most pressing in his demands for payment of interest on the public debt—ENTREATING him, in the most humiliating terms, to dispose of the public debentures for the payment of the INTEREST of the public debt, as he could NOT REMIT him "ONE PENNY." The astonishingly vast amount of money that was now, 1871-2-3-4, &c., pouring into the public treasury from every part almost of New South Wales, in the shape of mineral licenses, leases, Crown lands sales and selections, &c., has not had the remotest approach to a parallel in the history of the colony. It is to these truly fortunate circumstances, the beneficial effects of which are still visible, that New South Wales owes her present solvency: and most decidedly NOT to Free-trade.

In 1860, I stated what was likely to follow from our insane system of Free-trade, assisted emigration and unlocked waste Crown lands, and what did absolutely transpire in New South Wales. Further, copies of my letters to the "COOMA MERCURY," Monaro, can be seen, wherein I condemned the policy in 1867-8. From the above-named study of our political condition (which I have continued to this present hour, December, 1876, during which period I have read the history of every civilised nation on the globe) I have arrived at the juncture that a most unflinching and uncompromising system of strict protection to all native industries—not only to those now existing in our midst, but to all those we can develop from the natural resources of each of our colonies—is imperatively demanded. I know we have room, but not yet employment, for a great population. To be successful we MUST proceed as the United States of America did, after the war of independence; we must FIRST protect our infant industries before we can expect capitalists to invest their means in our industries; we have sufficient population in our colonies to start with. When wages rise, population will flow to where it can be most remuneratively employed; and this too, without one penny of expense to the colonies. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy's very wise advice relating to the introduction of skilled LABOUR to cultivate the olive, &c., may be indulged in at the expense of the colonists, so as to make a beginning. This industry should also be then protected most strictly. In short, I favour a system of BOUNTIES for new industries; in preference to assisting emigration as at present. The bounty money to new industries, or gifts of land, or even both, would REMAIN IN THE COLONY, and enhance the value thereof far beyond the outlay; as we should have left the LABOUR

VALUE ON THE LAND AT WORST. I consider intercolonial free trade prudent, when the Protective system is generally received and established.

Now, my dear reader, I will proceed to give you historical national facts in the support of the truthful soundness of my conclusion, and in doing so, you will perceive I have not confined my study to the works of any protectionist, but that I have found my best arguments in the acknowledgments of free-trade writers, including Adam Smith, James McCulloch, British Parliamentary Debates, the Cobden Club, Richard Cobden, and many others too numerous to mention now.

POPULATION.

According to the actual circumstances, population appears to be always ready to exert itself in full force.

The savage life is checked principally by the impossibility of finding food, at all times uncertain and precarious in places where subsistence is only to be derived from hunting or fishing, from a limited or imperfect agriculture, or from the uncertain or scanty resources arising from pastoral pursuits—a state of society having no fixed residence, aided by ardent spirits and diseases introduced by the white population in most instances where they come in contact with civilised society, all combine to prevent the increase of people. Hence it is that the savage people appears to decrease, rather than increase, in the presence of civilised population. On the contrary, where civilisation, the arts and sciences, and general industry are visible, an augmentation of people will be sure to follow in every such country, especially where the means to wealth and subsistence are most abundant—such, for instance, as the United States of America and including California, where, from local circumstances, it is accessible to the mass of the people. In North America, any apprehension of extreme poverty, misery, or want never enters the mind of the people, and the superabundance of their resources for the supply and support of their families exert themselves to the utmost, so as to produce a doubling of the population naturally within a period of twenty-five years. In countries, however, where considerable resources do not exist for the support of a redundant population, the checks to an unshackled increase exist to their full force; and the degree of increase or diminution depends, not only on the quantity of food raised in the same country, but also on the existing resources for the profitable employment of the people, through which medium only can food be accessible with due benefit to the general population of every country, but particularly to young colonies like New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, &c. Where few obstacles exist, and where fertile lands can be obtained on easy terms, with a prosperous manufacturing population, such is the tendency to procreation that the increase will always be progressive and considerable.

During a period of sixty-three years England uniformly exported a considerable quantity of corn and grain, arising from the surplus produce of the soil, and although during the period (from 1701 to 1764) the average price of wheat was but 33s. 3d. per quarter (while there was no depreciation of money), yet these low prices and an apparent abundance had little effect on the population of the country, and it, therefore, advanced very slowly; from this it may be inferred that the means of obtaining subsistence by productive labour were very scanty indeed, and that it operated most powerfully, even in the midst of this plenty, in restraining marriages, and a consequent rapid multiplication of the people. On the contrary, from 1796 to 1811, during which years the prices of corn rose to an enormous height, and every other article of the first necessity in the same proportion, the population, notwithstanding the drains for war in both the naval and military departments, had advanced in a ratio far exceeding those years when no corn was imported, and when the agriculture of the country was more than sufficient for the whole population. We see the sound foundation on which these conclusions are based, amply manifested in the exodus from Europe to the United States of America of a population exceeding in numbers 7000 per week, and these too, at their OWN EXPENSE! This great migration of the most valuable population can easily be accounted for by the vast increase of manufactures, and the wisdom of Congress in throwing open the Government lands of the United States to bona-fide resident cultivators of the soil at about threepence per acre, and the

consequent opulence which burst, as it were, upon the country,—affording **PROFITABLE EMPLOYMENT** for the masses of the people. Hence it follows that a country may raise enough corn, beef, and mutton, for the support of its own population, and even a surplus of considerable amount for exportation, without materially affecting the general wealth of the nation. It is by the labour of the whole people alone, and by means of capital engaged, and property created yearly by the labour of these people, that all kingdoms, states, and empires are supported; whether employed in agriculture (which is the best of all), or in manufactures, commerce, or any other concern of productive industry. What ever is the rate of increase in the means of subsistence, so will be the legitimate increase of the population. The one is decidedly limited by the other. It is manifest from the annals of history that every nation should not only support the greater part of its population from the produce of its own soil, but by promoting resources for productive labour, such as the manufactures, &c., enable those who possess this labour only, to apply it to means of paying for subsisting necessities of life. While the springs of industry are in vigour, and a sufficient part of this industry is directed to agriculture, population will rapidly increase. In numerous instances of depopulation which occur in history, the cause may generally be traced to a want of industry, or to its improper direction arising from bad government—inattention on the part of those who govern, and from ignorance of the people generally, combined, in some instances, with a despotism—all of which operate in producing a dearth of food, and of course depopulation must and will follow. Such is the case of Ireland. When the Romans first adopted the custom of importing their corn, and converted Italy into a vast sheepwalk or pasturage, her population diminished rapidly, and her power was in the same proportion abridged. It has indeed happened frequently, that where great diminution of the people has suddenly arisen from war, famine, or pestilence, the chasm has been filled up after the cause had been removed, and that, with a rapidity which is almost incredible. This is positive proof of the extreme difficulty of depopulating any civilised country by death, or removal of the people where the resources of subsistence and industry remain; but let these resources of profitable employment for the mass of the people be taken away, and the mischief is at once accomplished—let them remain, and more will crowd to the locality which is most tempting, and where there is least competition for the disposal of their produce. Food may be abundant and still not accessible to the general people, which must ever be the case where labour is a drug and the supply exceeds the demand, and where money is tight. It is not an excess of property in a few individuals, but the extension of it among the general mass of the community which is most likely to prove beneficial with respect to the general wealth of the nation, and the general happiness of all classes. This diffusion of capital and property enlarges the scope of its active powers, and gives it a direction calculated to augment the demand for profitable labour. In the hands of the few it is not always beneficially employed or directed so as to produce the greatest possible benefit to the community generally. Since £100,000, or any given sum, employed in the building of a mansion of a nobleman, gentleman, or other individual, is not so beneficial to a nation as the same sum employed in manufactures producing and reproducing new property in rapid succession, through this medium and that also of agriculture and commerce. Capital, thus employed, becomes a powerful agent in the possession of genius, talent, and industry, by which not only those who labour with their hands, but those also who promote, direct, and invigorate its active powers, mutually derive advantage. It is by the efforts of the day-labourer in various pursuits that the new property of every country is created, and upon which all ranks of a community, from the emperor on his throne and throughout all society to the pauper in the poorhouse, subsist. And where a virtuous and industrious population is thus fully employed, and its industries well directed, invigorated, and rendered productive by skill and capital, the progressive advance of that country in power and opulence is the never-failing result.

It is manifest from calculations made respecting the unquestionable increase of property in England beyond all that could be expected or imagined, or had ever been known to take place in England during a period of peace, that the

LOSSES sustained by their foreign expenditure and the labour of the people engaged on the field of battle and at sea, have been MORE than COUNTERBALANCED by the increased circulation of active capital, joined to agriculture, manufactures and commerce, facilitating the monopoly of the trade of the world, which, during the chief part of the war, was exclusively enjoyed by England in consequence of her great naval superiority. (OBSERVE what follows relatively to GOLD LEAVING A NATION.) "The specie which, however, has gone from us to foreign countries in time of war, like that sent to America during the War of Independence, WILL RETURN AGAIN TO ENGLAND in the shape of the price those foreigners must pay for our manufactures which we export to them, and the profits in sale will be ample interest to the nation." Thus, it is evident, we Australians are paying a double and a treble interest on all the money we borrow, as well as keeping our own manufacturers idle and allowing our colonial natural mineral ores (sources of unexampled wealth) to remain a constant beacon of MERITED REPROACH to ourselves, with great loss to the entire colony and our own families. A heavy EXPORT DUTY on specie would cure this disease.

GOVERNMENT!

I think there are few studies which would conduce more to human happiness than a thorough consideration of government—how to govern beneficially to the general community—of its duties, its powers, its privileges, and, above all, of the limits which should be assigned to its interference. Much more is dependent upon the Government than at first sight appears. Its functions especially relate to the national well-being of all subjects; but, first of all, are the arts, sciences and literature, which depend very much upon the functions of government being well defined, well directed, and judiciously exercised. It may be asked, "What is the interposition of Government?" Simply the concentrated action of the wisdom and power of the whole society on a given point, and mutual agreement by all that certain things shall be done or not done for the general benefit, and an enforcement of that agreement. The history of nations informs us that nothing but the force of government holds society together, and prevents the most flagrant and disorganising mischief springing from a natural state of things. And great as are the benefits we derive from government—from the concentrated action of the whole community—still greater are yet in reserve for Australia.

The free, representative and responsible constitutional government of this colony, including the great boon, "Vote by Ballot," is a political freedom unsurpassed; and, by reason thereof, every man is at liberty to vote at his own will—as he chooses, and without fear of consequences from coercion. Consequently, every elector is responsible for the political ability and integrity of the person he assists in returning as the representative of his electorate in Parliament; and, through him, for the good or evil manner in which the colony may be governed. There is not any nation on earth more wisely governed than England and the United States of America; and the English, as also the American, statutes are full of ample proof of the ever-jealous protection each nation has afforded to every infant industry, including agriculture, mining, manufacturing and commerce, projected by their own people. Especially England, who never failed to prevent her dependencies either manufacturing for themselves: shipbuilding, or entering into commercial relations with foreigners, of which I will explain further hereafter.

In the apology which Plato furnishes us as the speech of Socrates before his judges, there is this remarkable passage: "Don't be vexed with me for telling you the truth. There lives not the man who could escape destruction if, as an antagonist, he opposes you, or any other popular majority, and endeavours to prevent many unjust and unconstitutional things being done in the state; but it is necessary that if he will fight this battle for what is righteous, and yet, even for never so short a time, keep himself unharmed, he must maintain the privacy of an individual, and take no part in public affairs!"

Now, dear reader, under our British, or, still better, colonial constitutions, there is not any cause for fear of such a nature to be felt by any member of society. A man may be in a minority of one, and amongst so independent and original a people as we are, there are many persons who rather like to find themselves in a minority of one. This one may be in some danger of ridicule, but certainly not in any peril from persecution by the people generally.

It is not, however, by any means taken for granted by either the majority or minority that the question is finally settled; but it is settled by vote for a time. The history of nations, and of many great and complicated questions in politics, shows that what may at one time have been the opinion of a minority, often succeeded in establishing itself ultimately as the final and correct opinion of the majority! Such, dear reader, I confidently hope and trust will (yet) be the final ruling of the majority of the electors of these Australian colonies, but especially New South Wales—the home of my childhood, of my life—in behalf of “Protection to Native Industry!” The greatest aids to good government are those general principles of thought and action which belong to our present freedom of our votes and the character of the people, and which always can be appealed to, even in times of danger and of difficulty. When a dispute arises the question is put to the vote, and it must be a source of pleasure to all right-minded persons to see what thorough obedience is thus obtained.

THE MEANS BY WHICH NATIONS SUBSIST, &c.

There is, I believe, no earthly subject connected with political economy more interesting to a nation than that which relates to those inquiries which lead to the discoveries of the means by which nations subsist from year to year, and the sources from which revenues are obtained for the support of states, kingdoms, and empires! Millions of individuals in all countries pass through this life without being aware of the fact that the food which nourishes them, the clothing which covers them, the habitations which shelter them from the bitter inclemency of the weather, and all other conveniences and comforts of this life which they enjoy, more or less, proceed entirely from the labour of the people employed in agriculture, mines, and minerals, in manufactures and commerce, navigation and fisheries. Of all other branches connected with this most interesting subject, the ascertainment of the nature, income, and property created yearly from and by the labour of the people is the most important; since on the produce of this labour everything depends which constitutes the existence, the comfort, the power, and the security of the Sovereign and the people!

“PROTECTION IN ENGLAND!”

For many hundreds of years the English maintained a most strict Protectionist policy in the interest of their own subjects residing exclusively within the limits of England. To this selfishness England did not scruple to sacrifice the prosperity of any and all her colonies and possessions. Nay! her nobility and imperial legislators, the owners of the soil, absolutely carried this selfishness so far as even to prohibit the landing or importing of wheat, flour, or other food for man, for fear of the price being thereby lowered, and their profits thus reduced, or their tenants injured and rendered unable to continue high rents. And this state of oppression of the poor artisan continued up to a very recent date, till the time of Richard Cobden; and even in this period only the corn laws were repealed after a very great deal of opposition from the lords and yeomanry of England, which continued for years. But during those ages—aye, centuries gone by—the English manufacturers were well protected from the cheaper labour, and cheaper living, and more numerous population of CONTINENTAL EUROPE. Were it not for the extremely heavy duties imposed by the English Parliament in their tariff, from the reign of Edward III. (the 14th century) to and throughout every successive reign up to a late date, it would have been impossible for the English agriculturists or manufacturers to live in competition with France or Belgium, Germany and other populous continental nations. In addition to those heavy customs duties levied on all foreign grain and manufactures, Oliver Cromwell went further with this protective legislation, and absolutely would not allow a foreign built ship to be employed by English merchants; no, not even the captain or crew were allowed to be foreigners. He expressly ordered, by Act of Parliament, that the ships and crews, including the commander, all must be English men (sailors), of whom he took care to have enough by compulsory apprenticeship. To this wise (though selfish) legislation must be added his bravery and fortunate circumstances, by reason of which he crushed all competition on sea and on shore. By his famous navigation laws,

&c., he was ever ready for a naval fight with the best of veteran sailors. Thus he succeeded in driving the Dutch into their own ports, or sunk or captured them; and he was now supreme master of the seas of the world, and hence of the commerce of the world. And hence the main foundation and date of English permanent power and prosperity; and not from the little mere Free-trade that was not even dreamt of in those days. Indiscriminate Free-trade is the curse of Ireland and of these colonias. Cromwell made the high seas compensate for the small extent of England's ploughed lands; and her shipping the best of fortifications; nor would he have an underpaid foreigner in his service.

EDWARD II. : 1315.

The history of England informs us that in the reign of Edward II., 1315, this king, after his overthrow at the Battle of Bannockburn, in Scotland, leaving the greater part of his vast army dead on the field of battle behind him, in his retreat to York, had his country visited by a dreadful famine, which lasted three years, destroying an infinite number of people. This famine, occurring so soon after the devastation of men by war, had the following effect on the money market, and on the provisions and necessities of life. The nobility and gentry of that date petitioned the King to issue his proclamation to ENFORCE the sale of the NECESSARIES of LIFE at the following rates, because, said they, oxen, cows, muttons, hogs, geese, hens, capons, chickens, pigeons and eggs were excessively dear, viz. :—Best ox, not fed with corn, 16s., and no more; if fed on corn, then 24s., at most; the best live fat cow, for 12s.; a fat hog, of two years old, 2s. 4d.; a fat mutton, unshorn, 20d., shorn, 14d.; a fat goose, 2½d.; a fat capon, 2d.; a fat hen, 1d.; two chickens, 1d.; four pigeons, 1d.; and twenty-four eggs, 1d. Those who would not sell at these rates were to forfeit them to the king. The proclamation was accordingly issued in every county in England. Money was so seldom seen, Mr. Tyrrel observes, that silver was then at 24d. the ounce. As this petition emanated from the law-makers of that day, the king's proclamation thence became a temporary statute. An Act of Parliament was passed to prevent the carrying out of the realm any gold or silver treasure, also to regulate the rates of wages for labour, as the labourers refused to do their work at reasonable rates. As Scotland was, in those early years, a separate kingdom, it was customary to consider the Scotch in the same light as we do foreigners, and they were accordingly so treated by the English. Consequently the war with the Scotch had the same effect on the English Treasury that a foreign war would have. And hence the loss of English gold and silver during this destructive war. The king and the parliament even of those bygone centuries had the wisdom to adopt such measures as would not only prevent the exportation of treasure out of the realm, but also to prohibit the staple, wool, being exchanged for merchandise: the exchange must be for gold or silver; and it was further provided that any person disobeying this law should forfeit the commodity to the king. (See here the utter dependence on the producers.)

The great benefits resulting to the nation generally from this wise legislation were not unnoticed by the succeeding king, EDWARD III., but so convinced was he of the SOUNDNESS and wisdom of said laws that he availed of the first opportunity to encourage and protect NATIVE INDUSTRIES in the most direct legislation. Accordingly, in March, 1337, an act of Parliament was passed that no wool of English growth should be transported beyond the seas; and that all cloth workers should be received from whatever foreign ports they should come, and fit places should be assigned them, with divers liberties and privileges, and that they should have a certain allowance from the king till they be fixed in a way of living by their trade. It was also enacted, that no one should wear any clothes wrought beyond the sea. What now becomes of the system, "Buy in the cheapest market," of the "Free-trade system" also? I ask, will any man in his proper senses deny that this is Protection? No, no, but he must allow that Protection and bounties as well as the king's own unflinching and uncompromising protection were extended to the native industries of that age, but especially to the growth and manufacture of wool. Nevertheless, it is well known that English-grown wool was exported long after the passing of the above prohibitory laws; this was only done by smugglers, but as the population increased, this exportation of the raw material staple, was abso-

lutely succeeded by IMPORTATION OF WOOL. The exportation of wool finally ceased about the year 1660. The wisdom of the Protective system of legislation was acknowledged by every succeeding monarch in England up to the present reign of Queen Victoria. In the reign of Charles II., the second parliament went to the extreme length of passing an act ordering that ALL persons should be buried in woollen shrouds, and it was so generally approved of by the people of every station that it remained in full force for nearly 200 years, and then it was the increasing demand for woollen fabrics that led to its repeal. Thence also an IMPORTATION trade in wool was carried on by the English merchants and manufacturers, from the fact that they consumed in their workshops more wool than the home growth could supply. Again, in this same reign, in the year 1666, there was passed by the legislature a bill to prevent the importation of cattle from Ireland into England. There had been a very great deal of murmuring in England for many months, which had reached parliament, of the great damage the kingdom in general was sustaining by the importation of such vast numbers of IRISH CATTLE, "which were bred there for nothing, and transported to England for little, that they may well UNDERSELL all the cattle here; and from hence the breeding of cattle in England will be totally given over, and thereby the land will yield no rent in proportion to what it has ever done, and that this was the principal CAUSE of the WANT OF MONEY in the country, and which could only be remedied by a strict act of parliament to PROHIBIT the importation of any sort of cattle from Ireland into England." It was at one time death for exporting treasure out of SPAIN. And the English statutes furnish numerous instances, from the above-named reigns up to a very modern date, of ample proof of not only the anxiety of the reigning monarch to successfully establish every manufacture possible in the kingdom, by various acts of encouragement, but the full determination of every government to visit unrelenting punishment on ALL who may dare to carry on any trade calculated to REDUCE the TREASURE IN THE KINGDOM.

THE DUTY OF EVERY NATION TO DEVELOP ITS OWN RESOURCES.

The "Pamphleteer," vol. 20, pages 160-1, 1822, has the following, by Mr. R. Heathfield, M.P., on Liquidation of the Public Debt, and on Agriculture, Trade, and Commerce. "The trade of the British empire with foreign countries," he said, "as well as the trade within the British empire, has its source in agriculture and spontaneous or natural products. As it is universally admitted to be the proper business of every country to develop its own internal resources, whence the natural wealth and power are chiefly to be derived, the importations from a foreign country or countries, which DISPLACE the demand for our own native productions, become the subject of anxious attention,—not in any narrow or confined spirit, not for the purpose of considering how the welfare of a neighbour may be injured by being subjected to selfish views, but for the fair and becoming purpose of inquiring into the cause of an effect so ADVERSE, not only to the interest of the particular nation which is immediately and directly affected, but ADVERSE to the general prosperity of the empire." Speaking still on the importation of grain, he says, "In like manner a foreign country, by developing its natural resources, becomes better enabled to supply and to purchase of Great Britain; and the latter country has consequently, an interest in the prosperity of that foreign country." (This is what ought to be the English policy, but 500 years' experience has convinced the world that England does not and never did practise such fair, nay JUST dealings; no, not even towards her own colonies.) Again, "it does not follow," he says, "that it is eligible for Great Britain to trade with a foreign country at the expense or at the sacrifice of her own natural resources." —Page 161. "A crisis may indeed" he says, "be too readily supposed, which may render it doubtful whether such a foreign trade be, or be not, the least in the choice of great evils; but the existence of such a crisis must be admitted to be EVIDENCE of the DEPRESSION of NATIVE industry, and consequently of NATIONAL WEALTH and POWER being affected at the source! Such a foreign trade may be submitted to as a temporary expedient, but its consideration must lead to the speedy relief of native industries."

Relatively to the superiority of LOCAL over foreign markets, he says, "The nation has been repeatedly cast into a convulsive state during the last thirty years (at the

end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century), by the interruption of great foreign demand for goods of British manufacture, and for foreign supplies of the RAW materials for the manufacturers here; and the continued exposure to similar casualties can NOT be overlooked in any estimate of the nature and value of foreign commercial connexions. Constant employment in the individual," he continues, "is most essential to the well-being of a community. A trade with a country peculiarly exposed to chances of interruption, CAN NOT, therefore, be equally as desirable as a trade with a country not subjected to any similar chances." (Hence the superiority of home consumption, of home internal trade, of intercolonial trade, similar to the internal trade of the United States of America; and to the vast trade carried on between these States, may, principally, be attributed their great progression, wealth, prosperity, and power.) "The effect of conducting the interchanges of English and foreign property in British shipping is notably the source of immense wealth and security to our trade; but it is the invigorating of the arm upon which the United Kingdom relies for protection and defence. The effect of conducting those interchanges of property in foreign shipping, on the contrary, is the creation or invigoration of an arm, but too probably to be met with in an adverse, and it may be, hostile contention. These distinctions cannot be safely overlooked in any comparative estimate of the nature and value of trade."—Page 177. "On the East and West Indies Trade," in appendix E, will be found the following:—"The Eastern tropical dependencies are thoroughly distinguished from the Western tropical dependencies of the empire. The cultivation of the Western dependencies is limited by the prevention of any further importation of African labour; the Eastern dependencies are cultivated chiefly by native free labour, the free subjects of the soil, unlimited in numbers, of the most frugal habits, and who submit to labour at the LOWEST rate of COMPENSATION. As this prohibitory law, relatively to the further importation of slave labour, has been the work of British legislation, and the ruin of the planter," the above speaker, still continuing his address to Parliament says, "the British West Indian planter is entitled to the effective support and protection of the British Government. He has embarked great capital in situations peculiarly exposed to difficulty and to hazard, his planting a farm is a source of consumption, to a great extent, of British produce and manufactures; the property created by his capital, industry, and skill, is of great annual amount; his employment of British shipping is extensive; the business which he transacts with the British merchant is very considerable indeed; he administers extensively to the comforts and satisfactions of life by the description of produce he carries to market; and his income, to a great extent, he expends within the British Isles (England). The property embarked in the plant may be considered to have been so embarked under peculiar encouragement of the British empire. But, however forcible and even imperative the various considerations which entitle the British West Indian planter to effective support and protection, he is NOT assured any preference in the British markets. He is, therefore, exposed to the galling competition of SLAVE LABOUR productions in the British markets, while, at the same time, his opponents are fully protected from foreign productions in their own country. The French, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and Swedish Western colonies are sufficiently protected against the Free-trade principle—broad and open competition. The West Indian planters' great and valuable interests must give place to the less expensive system of management upheld by foreign powers. Are we," he continues, "to be supplied with tropical productions, the labour of slaves employed on the soil of foreign countries; or by the labour of our native free British subjects employed on British territory, and paid with British money?"—Page 182. Lord George Bentinck, a Liberal, in his place in Parliament, said amongst many other things too lengthy to be introduced here, during a discussion on West Indian affairs, 1848, "To justify inquiry he pointed to the extremities of the West Indies, to the failure of fifty great houses in this country, with liabilities over £6,300,000 sterling, that free labour could NOT compete with slave labour; as, at the highest estimate, the cost of maintaining a slave in the West Indies is fifty dollars a year, while in the English possessions free labour is paid half a dollar a day for six or seven hours' work, and he can scarcely be got to work five days in a week. In Cuba the slave is made to work from sixteen to twenty hours a day,

the driver of whom being armed with a whip, cutlass, and a dagger, attended by bloodhounds. This is the kind of slavery we are stimulating," he said, "by admitting slave-grown sugar into this country. Ministers," he continues, "had advanced £450,000 on sugar crop to enable the colonists to go on, and to enable them to procure a supply of rice from India for food of the labourers. That fact itself ought to be sufficient to justify inquiry. He (Lord Bentinck) wanted this inquiry also as a bridge of retreat for the ministers and the free-traders, who may be permitted to pass over, but certainly not with colours flying or drums beating, nor with bands playing 'See the conquering heroes come;' no, but they may be allowed to pass over with their ARMS reversed, and with muffled drums, muttering, it may be between their teeth, 'If our cause is of God it will LIVE, but if not it must perish.' Their cause was not of God," he said, "and hence it must perish."—So say I of colonial Free-trade, and it must perish. The noble lord here plunges into an immense forest of statistical figures against cheap sugar, &c., against buying in the cheapest market. Lord George Bentinck set off the failure of the great merchants for more than £6,300,000 sterling, and asked how Free-trade had benefited Lancashire (1848) now in so miserable a condition; whether Free-trade had fulfilled the promise of opening up the trade of the Brazils? "There had," he said, "been A GROSS DECREASE in the production of cotton goods to the amount of £339,224. Taking account of the enhanced value of raw cotton, the balance remaining for wages and profits had declined by £1,871,030." Mr. ROBINSON, M.P., said amongst many other proofs of the insanity of Free-trade legislation, "There were, in 1847, above 800 miles of railroads in CUBA, and not above a dozen in the whole of the BRITISH West India Islands. But CUBA was under the government of the United States of America. He feared the planters in the British West India Islands will have to prepare for TOTAL RUIN." Mr. James Wood, M.P., said "it was evident from the petitions and other accounts received from the West Indies, that some relief should be extended to these people to rescue them from insolvency and final ruin. That in 1834, there were 800,000 slaves liberated from these planters; in 1846, the British markets were thrown open to foreign supplies of slave-produced sugar, coffee, &c. The planters struggled up against their trials under the Emancipation Act, but this latter blow has crushed all remaining hope from their minds. But then, as Lord John Russell fully admits, this latter Act of 1846 is "to encourage Free-trade with all parts, and above all gives cheap sugar to the people of England!" "Sir Charles Woods, M.P.," said Mr. Disraeli, "preaches Free-trade and competition, but competition presumes equality of all surrounding circumstances;" and what, he (Mr. Disraeli) would ask, is the equality of circumstances between the Spanish and British colonies in the West Indies? Why, the Spanish colonies have abundance of labour for which they pay nothing; the British colonies are deficient of labour, and what little they can keep they have to pay dearly for. Our blundering legislation, in fact, has created a differential duty in favour of the Spanish and other slave-labour productions; and this is the result of being ruled by "PHRASES" instead of by FACTS. The West India supply of 250,000 tons of sugar annually will disappear from the markets of the world; what will then become of your cheap sugar scheme? of what use will the colonies be then, except as garrisons? and indeed, what use can we have of garrisons in the coming millennium of Free-trade?" Then turning to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Disraeli concluded with a pointed and emphatic denunciation of the quackery of Free-trade; of this MODERN economic science. Again, relating to direct or income taxes, instead of custom-house taxes, Mr. Hume, M.P., asked the Government whether they were not all mad, that in a time of increasing distress amongst the manufacturing classes, they should propose increased taxation? He should undoubtedly prefer and would propose a reduction in our establishments to meet the excesses in the expenditure and want of money! Mr. Banks, M.P., the Marquis of Granby, Mr. G. R. Robinson, M.P., and Mr. Newdgate, M.P., saw in the present disastrous state of the finances the "RESULT of that INSANE SYSTEM OF FREE-TRADE!!" In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1558, Acts of Parliament were passed touching the carrying of tallow, raw hides, or leather out of the realm; touching tanners and curriers, and the selling of leather; exchanges must be in treasure, returned to England for fully manufactured articles; none else allowed to be exported. To disobey and export said above-named articles out of the kingdom for returns in merchandise, to be a "FELONY;" touching shipping in British bottoms—in short, Elizabeth's, like ALL

previous reigns, was one of continued, unrelenting protection to all branches of native industry. King JAMES I. enacted a measure for the further encouragement and protection of husbandry and manufactures: "That no stranger or ALIEN shall buy English HORNS unwrought," with extraordinary power and authority to stop and search for 24 miles round London any suspicious person or places for smuggled horns; an Act for the encouragement of many poor persons in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and in the towns and parishes of Carlisle, Oxhead, and Broughton in the county of Lancaster—to continue a trade of making bog-ware, kendals, carptmells and coarse cottons; for INTERNAL free-trade and traffic of Welsh cloths, cottons, frieze, linens and plains, in and through the whole Kingdom of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

FOX'S REPLY TO PITT.

In Fox's Speeches on "Irish Commercial Propositions" (Vol. iii. page 58), will be found Mr. Fox's reply to Mr. Pitt, Feb. 22, 1785, on the adjustment of Irish tariffs: He, Mr. Fox, said, relatively to the abolishment of the duties, it was not a little curious to observe in how very different a manner the minister in Ireland and the minister in England had represented and recommended the same proposition to two different Parliaments. In Ireland they had stated it as highly advantageous to Ireland, as putting her upon the same footing with Great Britain, and rendering her, Ireland, an emporium of trade and the source and supply of the British markets. In England, and in that House, they are told the system was advisable, and the propositions were such as this country may gladly accede to—why? Because it gave to Ireland nothing but what she had before; because Ireland can NOT rival England; because Ireland is poor and feeble; and because Ireland must remain so, if not for ever, at least for a considerable length of time. The fifth, amongst others of the propositions, struck him as being liable to great objection, and as likely in its operation to contradict and destroy the very principle that had been stated to be that on which all the propositions were founded, viz.: the advancement of Irish prosperity. It is rather a lengthy one, but it is in effect to entirely abolish import duties on English manufactures, to abolish an Irish protectionist system of duties on foreign manufactures, English included, which would (and did), it was said by Mr. Fox and others, destroy Irish factories and impoverish the people.

EXTRACTS FROM "BYLES, BARRISTER," AUTHOR OF "SOPHISMS OF FREE-TRADE."

IS "POLITICAL ECONOMY" A SCIENCE?

Political economy may be a science. The political economy of Mun and Gee, Protectionists, in 1750, was very different from the political economy of M'Culloch and Mill, Free-traders, in 1850. And doubtless the political economy of these gentlemen in 1850, will be very different to what will be the opinions of the politicians of 1950. If by a science is meant a collection of TRUTHS ASCERTAINED by EXPERIMENT, and on which all well-informed men are agreed, then political economy is manifestly NOT YET a science (1849). If political economy claims to be a science at all, she must learn to tolerate doubt, to endure contradiction, to meet problems wholly unexpected, and solutions at variance with all preconceived notions. She will see theory after theory supported by GREAT NAMES, and confidently propounded, yet, AFTER ALL, "REBUKED" and "EXPOSED" by "MATTER-OF-FACT EXPERIENCE." If we would form a just estimate of our MODERN ENGLISH notions on this matter of Free-trade, we must look back, around, and in front of us, or we shall resemble the rustic, whose history and geography are circumscribed by his own life among his own local gum-trees. The need of a political economy different from the present suicidal fashion, is too manifest to any thinking man. He will admit the results are NOT flattering. Free-traders! Look at England's boundless wealth and hopeless poverty; at Ireland's dearest children escaping for their lives to other lands than British, like Lot from the cities of evil; at the expanse of untilled, or only half-cultivated lands, spread abroad amidst a starving population, idle and congested; at the theories opposed to yours, in France, Germany,

Russia, and America, supported by the most original thinkers, and greatest writers, such as M. Thiers, the late President of France; Mr. Hamilton, of United States, America; Concorine, of Russia, and others. The tools and implements with which the new and true political economy is destined to work are multiplying around us. The steam-engine, steam power generally, railways, mechanical inventions, and modern chemistry, have not appeared for no purpose. A political economy will ere long dawn upon us that shall perform her promises, that will rain the riches of nature into the laps of the starving poor. Men of Australia do not dream of the prosperity which is in store for all orders of the people, who will, I believe, have cause to be proud of the coming "United States of Australia."

IT IS NOT WISE TO "LET THINGS ALONE!"

Everything may be improved by culture and by art. The indigenous aloes, crabs, and weeds, when cultivated and improved in orchards and in gardens, are plums and apples, flowers, &c. A deeper insight into the constitution of society will disclose not only artificial political arrangements, but commercial and fiscal ones, tending to the virtue, the happiness, the wealth, the power, the grandeur, and the duration of states, kingdoms, and empires. The possibility of such artificial regulations is agreeable to analogy, and conformable to experience. But both analogy and experience forbid the expectation that increase of wealth, and its fair and equitable distribution, by the full, various, and permanent employment of the people, will flow from the "Let alone" system. On the contrary, there is ample proof to the reverse, that the natural course of things will here, as in Ireland, and other places under British rule, be a vicious one; that the sum of national wealth will not increase, as it might be made to increase; that its distribution will be imperfect; that land will be but half-cultivated; that employment for the bulk of the people will be precarious, and wages uncertain and scanty; that the bulk of the community will not be clothed, fed, and housed as they should and could be.

HISTORY.

Now, dear reader, we will, with your permission, take a peep into the teachings of history, and search for the victories of the "Let alone" system. Where are they? Not a single triumph is recorded since the world began. On the other hand, we find history full of the records of marvellous achievements of industry forced into artificial channels by the admirable foresight and power of wise government.

Ancient and modern history each present us examples of an artificial direction of industry, not only assailing and subduing the apparently invincible infecundity of the soil, but compelling it ever after to feed successive generations, and add to the power of mighty kingdoms! What was Egypt by nature?—A sterile and moving sand. It has been well observed that its noble river was once full of black mud, too filthy to slake the thirst or wash the person, of little use, except to rats, insects, and hideous reptiles. Immense labours, the industry of man, at length achieved a victory over it. Canals, reservoirs, and numerous contrivances for irrigation, led it at length to every door—the minister of health, cleanliness, and fertility. Now there was, and ever since has been, "Corn in Egypt." Ever since, in spite of bad government, [under the Pharaohs, the Persians, the Ptolemys, the Romans, the Caliphs, the Mamelukes, and the Pachas, it has been the land of plenty! What would Egypt have been all this time, if 3000 years ago the "Let alone" system had been in fashion there? Our wise men would say, Buy from your neighbours at a cheaper rate—the Arabs, the Numidians, the Carthaginians, the Tyrians, and the Sicilians; as for your means of purchase, you will find that out!

HOLLAND.

HOLLAND is another example of what can be done by the hands of man. In Holland, below the level of the sea and the surface of adjacent rivers and canals, have been created by human art, fat pastures, teeming with flocks and herds, rich artificial garden lands, nourishing the industrious and thriving population of innumerable cities, towns, and villages. The very coast is an artificial fortification against the ocean, the ancient and natural monarch of the country. Here he is

defied by leagues of artificial sea banks—there by miles of granite masonry. Rivers and canals are made to run many feet above the level of the country. Armies of windmills are constantly pumping and draining. Amsterdam and Rotterdam, populous cities and opulent, rest but on piles driven into the mud. This concentration of native industry and art on the most unpromising of soils, resulted not only in agricultural, but also in commercial prosperity. The 17th century saw Holland the greatest maritime and commercial power in the world! Compare this artificial legislation in ancient Egypt and modern Holland—without enlarging by numerous other instances, as those of the United States of America—with the “Let alone” system forced upon Ireland—the most fertile country under Heaven! More of Ireland by-and-by. The absurdity of this “Let alone” system (neglect of due legislation to promote and encourage domestic industries) will be further exemplified in the following pages,—including Ireland, Free-trade Ireland!

IS IT WISE TO TAKE FOREIGN MANUFACTURES IN RETURN FOR OUR EXPORTS?

Supposing every foreign commodity that we import were paid for by our exports, it may be; and I hold it is still better for us to buy from our own producers in preference to importing them from foreign places. Home trade is more advantageous than foreign trade.

Now hear what the first English writer, “Adam Smith,” the great Free-trade champion, says on the subject: “The capital which is employed in creating in one part of the country in order to sell in another part of the same country the produce of the industry of that country, generally replaces by such operation two distinct capitals that had both been employed in the agriculture and manufacture of that country, and thereby enables them to continue in that employment. The capital employed in purchasing foreign goods for home consumption, when this purchase is made with the produce of domestic industry, replaces also by every such operation two distinct capitals, but one of these only is employed in supporting domestic industry. The capital which sends British goods to Portugal and brings back Portuguese goods to England, replaces by every such operation **ONLY ONE British capital**; the other is a Portuguese capital. Though the returns, therefore, of the foreign trade of consumption should be as quick as those of the home trade, the capital employed in it will give but **‘ONE HALF THE ENCOURAGEMENT TO THE INDUSTRY OR PRODUCTIVE LABOUR OF THE COUNTRY.’** A capital employed in the domestic, home, local trade will sometimes make twelve returns, or be sent out twelve times before a capital employed in the foreign trade of consumption has been made to once return. **IF THE CAPITALS ARE EQUAL, THEREFORE, THE ONE WILL GIVE FOUR-AND-TWENTY TIMES MORE ENCOURAGEMENT AND SUPPORT TO THE INDUSTRY OF THE COUNTRY THAN THE OTHER!**”—(A. S.)

From these statements, which I indorse, it is manifest Adam Smith would, if he were in these colonies, advise that we do not import any article we can manufacture; that our most profitable trade will be a local one; internal and inter-colonial. Such, for instance, as that which now, and ever has, existed between the United States of America since the War of Independence (1783), nearly a hundred years, that the agriculturist, the pastoralist, and all others who may be engaged in the various productions of the raw material, will find their manufacturing neighbours will be, not only a permanent and ready market for the consumption of their various products, but that they will also offer the most profitable means to secure rapid returns for goods sold and supplies of domestic articles of necessity. He (Adam Smith) then goes on to say:—“If with British commodities you purchase British commodities, you replace two British capitals” (that is to say, the nation keeps all her two capitals within itself); “but if with British commodities you purchase foreign commodities, you replace only one British capital.” (Say, of France, maintains the same argument). “That is to say, you may have had the entire gross value of the two industries to spend, and, thereby also, to create and sustain your own markets.” (Adam Smith). These observations of that great politician, Adam Smith, are perfectly true, and they derive additional weight from the quarter from which they come. They are the admissions of the founder of the existing school of political economy on a point of vital importance; so vital,

indeed, that it affects the entire foundation of Free-trade! The entire price or gross value of every HOME-made article constitutes net gain, net revenue, net income to the colonists, enabling them to maintain their families, prosecute their industries, and sustain their markets. A small difference in the price may cause the loss of that industry; but it will not compensate the colony for the injury inflicted by that loss in throwing a number of idle hands upon public benevolence. For example, suppose we can produce an article for not less than £100, and can import as goods for £90. By importing it, you think we gain £10; but, though we pay for it with wool, hides or tallow, we lose (not, indeed, by the first exchange itself, but by the collapse of the crushed industry or manufacture) £100 of wealth, which we may have had to spend by manufacturing or producing the article in this colony; on the balance we lose £90, which we may have had in addition by producing the articles at home. Nor can it be maintained that what the producer loses the consumer gains. The producer loses £100, the consumer gains £10; but, ultimately, the consumer, in his turn, will also feel loss. The nation loses the markets which the crushed industry supported, and thus the colony, the nation, and also the individual consumer, will find their income decline till absolute want, poverty, and starvation pervade the entire community as it has done in Ireland and other places. Here are a few details for example. Take maize, the produce of the Hunter River: say the value is 50s.; the whole of this 50s. is net colonial income, a portion say 5s., goes as rent to the landlord, and is to him net income, which he may spend with his tradesmen in maintaining his family. Next, 30s. for wages; those wages are the net income of the labourer. Then 10s. go for his children's school-fees, to the support of the clergyman and the poor. Then 2s. 6d. go for his farming implements, the whole of which 2s. 6d. is net income to others enumerated below. The residue, being 2s. 6d., we will suppose, the net profit of the farmer, and would be net income to him, but for the fact that half of it, viz., 1s. 3d., goes as interest for money borrowed by him. This last 1s. 3d. is, however, still net income—not of the farmer but of his creditor. Trace home with stubborn attention every penny of the price of the maize, and you will find it net income to the colony. The whole 50s. answers two purposes: first, it maintains the ultimate recipients and their families; and, secondly, by means of their expenditure, it creates a home market to the extent of the entire gross value or price of the maize. The 2s. 6d. spent on farming implements is also distributed first for a spade, of which 6d. is the ironmonger's profit; 6d., for a handle; 1s. 6d., for iron part of the spade; each may be further accounted for in detail till penny after penny is clearly shown to support the network of society. Again, suppose Sydney were (as I hope she will be) manufacturing stockings to the value of £500,000 a-year, and exchanged them annually for gloves to the value of £500,000 a-year made in Parramatta, the landlords, tradesmen, and workmen of these two places, Sydney and Parramatta, enjoy together an annual colonial net income of £1,000,000. Suppose now at this juncture, that for some real or supposed advantage in the price or quality, the Sydney people, instead of exchanging with Parramatta stockings for gloves, they exchange their stockings for gloves from a foreign country, say France; thus depriving the Parramatta people of the Sydney market. What would be the consequence? It is this, that Parramatta loses what France gains; that New South Wales loses, and France gains half a million sterling a-year by the new locality of the glove manufacture being transferred from New South Wales to France. We have half a million a year less to expend on industries, and France has this half a million more to expend on her glove manufactures, to support and maintain her population of every rank, trade, and profession!

Nor does the mischief end here. On the Parramatta glovemakers were dependent bakers, millers, grocers, butchers, tailors, shoemakers, and other tradesmen, with their families and their servants, who in their turn supported the trades and manufactures, as well as the agriculturists and pastoralists. The destruction of the glove industry of Parramatta thus ruins all. They are destroyed like a hive of industrious bees. But it will be said Sydney is a gainer by a vast sum yearly in the difference of the price of French gloves. Sydney (the consumer) may gain by the exchange as before explained, but the colonists at large suffer loss,—firstly, by the balance; secondly, by the loss of employment for her people; and thirdly, by the burden now thus imposed upon the remaining

employed industries, in the shape of extra poor taxes. The Parramatta market that once existed is now destroyed, and the Sydney people gain no extra market by sending their stockings to France: they had a market to the same extent before in Parramatta. (Sydney and Parramatta are only supposed markets for the sake of illustration). There is no improvement in the condition of Sydney to compensate for the ruin of the Parramatta people. The public at present entertain very inadequate conceptions of the devastating consequences to this colony of her Free-trade policy.

BUY IN THE CHEAPEST MARKET

Is not a sound generally profitable policy, in respect to these colonies at least. Capital employed is spent to reproduce itself. In doing so it feeds, clothes, and lodges the industrious workman and his family, pays the employer and the landlord. After having done all this, after having been entirely consumed, it rises like the phoenix from its ashes, in the shape of a new product! We behold, in the place of the spent capital, a newly produced property of EXTRA value! This is the true explanation of the phenomenon that meets one constantly wherever a new and successful industry is established. We see that wealth springs up suddenly, as if by magic; not from paltry savings, but in huge masses. The truth is seen that a new income is at once created for every soul connected with the industry. And where the markets are close at hand (which is a great advantage in many other ways) and good, the capital may be turned over several times in the year. Wherever, therefore, a commodity be produced, the population will be employed, prosperous, and happy. The payment of wages makes markets for labour. A portion of his wages the labourer spends for a bedstead, which gives employment to the numerous workers in iron; next he buys a bed, this gives employment to an upholsterer; he next wants a house, and this gives employment to the builders; he next wants bread and meat, in this he gives employment to the farmer and to the cattle breeder through the baker and the butcher, and so finds them a market. The butcher does the same for the baker, the baker for the brewer, the brewer for the coachbuilder, the coachbuilder for the blacksmith; and so on to and through every member concerned in the industry of the colony, the kingdom, and empire. Create one market, one successful industry, and those create others, and stimulate and nourish production in an infinite series. Under an uncertain mode of government, the whole structure of industries may be compared to a house built of cards: touch one, and many, if not all, fall; market after market fails, production after production ceases. New South Wales is now, and has been during these last twenty-six years, recklessly scattering her vast resources abroad, where other nations create, collect, and spend only to recreate untold wealth. We have spent hundreds of thousands of pounds to bring a population to our shores; on arrival they find little or no employment in their own legitimate occupation. After a short time spent in lamentations, and vain efforts to obtain permanent remunerative employment, they leave the colony. Some may be found in our prisons, some in a temporary situation, a majority on the gold-fields and in our lunatic asylums. Free-trade, the absurdly high price of Crown lands, and this importation of a poor population, most effectually destroy all reasonable chances for the permanent and duly remunerative employment of any considerable influx of valuable population. Unfortunately too, it is the healthy, the industrious, the thrifty, and the enterprising portion of our population that will and do migrate; the halt, the old, the debauched, the pauper will be left behind. These do not bear, but swell our burthen, and will, if persisted in, eventually ensure the looming degradation of New South Wales. And all this mischief is being perpetrated while there exists in our midst the UNRIVALLED though shamefully neglected means of producing within the limits of our own colony, the most ample and ready supplies, not only of food, but of raw materials of all kinds necessary to the successful establishing of the usual branches of industry,—the manufacturing industries, not only for the existing population, but for an infinitely larger one; means not only ample to fill every mouth, but to employ every idle pair of hands in the most natural, healthy, virtuous, and contenting occupations; means not only of procuring plenty of cheap food, but of putting into every man's hands the means

to buy it. Our most persevering manufacturers in Sydney, I believe, are those engaged in the boots and shoes trade. Even those indefatigable and efficient workmen find it hard to live comfortably in the face of the vast quantity of those articles of daily consumption which are and have been for many years imported into Sydney from England and other old nations. The Sydney men are thus driven below a reasonable fair living to the manufacture of common boots and inferior workmanship, so keen is the competition, and so low are the profits and limited the sales. Superior women's boots are out of the question entirely, those are European products almost exclusively; not that our workmen are in the least degree inferior in ability, or incapable of providing the best descriptions of those articles; no, no, but because of the want of the superior leather; and the tanner and currier, in their turn, suffer also from those importations, as the superior leathers require greater expenditure of money, labour and time to bring them to the requisite degree of perfection, in order to ensure a market to supersede the imported article. And those men are fully aware that to attempt to establish such an industry in any part of this colony, especially in Sydney, in view of our existing yet suicidal policy of Free-trade, would be one of the most insane, futile, and ruinous projects any man could be guilty of. I am told that to buy in the cheapest market will allow the unemployed amongst us to search for and obtain other permanent and profitable employment! My reply is, we have had now above twenty years' free-trade with England and all the world, it has cost us vast sums of money, gold, and produce to bring population (emigrants) to our shores, and many thousands have accordingly arrived here; hundreds of thousands of others have from year to year been attracted to this colony by our gold discoveries, which alone produced above fifty millions pounds sterling. Where are they now—1876? If we had remunerative employment even for those only on whom were expended so many thousands of pounds to bring here, there ought surely to be a far greater population in this colony than 500,000; nay, the natural increase would amount to greater numbers. The plain, simple fact is clear; we had not, and we have not any duly profitable or legitimate employment for even the immigrants that were so shamefully deceived and enticed; aye, entrapped to leave (in many cases) happy homes, under full conviction, yet sad and unconscious delusions of being soon enabled to remit to their relatives, their wives, their children, means of purchasing necessities imperatively demanded, even by emigrants, for a long sea voyage to Australia. They had no money to purchase land from the Crown. Those who have purchased, cleared, and cultivated (no easy task in this colony), found themselves jammed in by bad roads, or none, or mere bush-tracks, mountains, and scrubs; and when they did get their produce to Sydney—the only market worth naming in the colony, and this one naturally poor enough—these pioneer-farmers were met full in the face by foreign importations of flour and grain, and this, too, at prices on which Chinamen would look with due scorn, viz., £5 per ton. I speak the truth; imported flour could be purchased at 5s. per 100 lbs. in Sydney just before gold was discovered at the Ophir by Mr. Hargraves. Sawn half-inch lining boards, from 8 in. to 14 in. and 15 in. wide, 5s. per 100 ft., delivered. Carters, 5s. per week, with rations, &c. The "GOLD DEPOSITS," and NOT manufacturing, or agricultural, or pastoral industries, have been the source of our TRANSITORY prosperity. From 1866 to about 1870 the Colonial Treasurer found it most difficult to meet current public expenditure, including the INTEREST due on our public debts. And one of our Treasurers wrote to England, requesting that the debentures be sold at once to pay the INTEREST of the public debt, as he could NOT remit one penny. Surely, hence our prosperity in 1851-2-3-4 was, as we have seen, mere glitter, moon-shine, merely "transitory." But, oh! what a chance these (even few) years afforded the Government of that day to ensure the large and unquestionably good population then in the colony, to rivet them, as it were, to our soil. Who will say that, if our legislators had made a gift of EVERY ALTERNATE 40 ACRES of our agricultural lands to BONA FIDE RESIDENT CULTIVATORS, we would not have thus secured at least three-fourths of that valuable population? Next, we need only to manufacture our own necessities to increase this settled population to an UNRIVALLED degree. I say to an unrivalled degree, because no other nation on earth, NOT excepting California, possesses the same sources of, and facilities to secure rapid wealth that this colony does! If this colony had not been labouring under

the sad delusion of Free-trade, that curse of all British possessions, but instead, had protected, assisted, fostered domestic industries, what thousands—aye, millions of industrious and prosperous people would now be comfortably and happily settled in our midst, on their own chosen plot, their own freehold home, with happy family faces, cheering, merrily ringing youthful voices, greeting the equally happy, contented parent, on his return home from remunerative, congenial employment. What a market on the spot, too, for the cattle, sheep, and other live-stock breeder! No cause for boiling-down works, but plenty for butchers; a good local market for wool, hides, and tallow for the local manufacturers. The present Government, like the late one, arrogate for themselves something very extraordinary in the management of the public finances placed under their control. They seem to assume that the large surplus funds in hand are due to their superior management. What an absolute absurdity this statement is. The simple facts are well known. The late excitement in the mining market and the undue wholesale disposal of large blocks of the public lands will amply account for said surplus. I do not admit of the slightest merit of these facts being in any way due to the Government. This state of things came suddenly upon the country, and not expected by any man in Australia. But there is a chance now open to this Government to exhibit any innate pre-knowledge of future events they may assume to possess, to exhibit any ability they profess to be endowed with, to raise her from her stand-still position to one of permanent progress and lasting prosperity. Will they do it? I am inclined to believe they will not. I have not the least confidence in the POLITICAL ability of our representatives; and I am satisfied we shall go on as before, till all will see how very "TRANSITORY" indeed was the apparent prosperity of New South Wales in her best days, 1872-3-4-5 and 6. From the above statements, we may conclude that countries where "buying in the cheapest market" is NOT the rule, are rich and flourishing, and countries where "buy in the cheapest market" is the rule are poor, stationary, or retrograding, like Ireland, Turkey, the Indies, Cape of Good Hope, Tasmania, Australia, and all other British possessions, especially those NOT producing gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, coal, and MANY OTHER VALUABLE METALLIC and MINERAL SUBSTANCES.

IF ALL COUNTRIES PRACTISED FREE TRADE, ALL COUNTRIES WOULD BE GAINERS.

This is also NOT CORRECT. For instance, there are some few countries in the world which enjoy peculiar facilities for the production of particular commodities, such as the South of France for wine; Cuba, for sugar; some districts of England for coals and iron. But the immeasurably greater portion of the surface of the habitable globe consists of countries only moderately—and but moderately—adapted for the production even of the necessities and comforts of life, of food, clothing, and lodging. These countries can in every single article that they produce, be surpassed and undersold by some other country. Put the case of such a country as has MODERATE facilities for the production of most things, but with extraordinary facilities for producing nothing. It can grow wheat, but not so cheap as Poland; it can grow wine, but not so cheap as France or Spain; it CAN manufacture, but not so cheaply as England. Now, first imagine that country under a system of Protection so strict as you choose to put it, even injudicious. She cultivates the land, and works up her own products, and thus she creates wealth at both ends of the exchange: its manufacturers exchange with its agriculturists' and its pastoralists' products. Native industry can and does supply her with the necessities and comforts of life. A numerous population may be employed, fed, clothed, and lodged. Industry, plenty, and permanent prosperity reign triumphantly. All this may be, and is done under many great NATURAL disadvantages, both of soil and climate. Human art and industry always triumph nevertheless over every obstacle, and can raise, as in the case of Holland, a great and powerful state in a morass. Foreign trade will in the end be introduced, supplying luxuries and carrying away superfluities.

Now hear what Free-trade, universal and unrestricted imports, will do for the same country, but now tried by Free-trade laws. Except in a few favoured spots she can NOT grow wheat to pay, for Poland will be able to undersell her, not only

in foreign markets, but in her own. She cannot manufacture, for in cottons, hardware, woollens, and other products of manufacturing industries England can undersell her abroad, at home, and in her own markets. It cannot grow wine, for France and Spain both can undersell her everywhere. Neither can she continue to import her corn, her manufactures, or her wine from abroad, for her own industries being superseded and smothered by her chosen Free-trade system, she has not anything to give in exchange. She becomes, then, in this condition:—She can neither grow nor make for herself; nor can she buy from abroad; hence she goes without, or, if not entirely without, she is but scantily and wretchedly supplied. Who will say this latter is not the case of Ireland, which for MANY years has had perfectly Free-trade with the greatest manufacturing and commercial country in the world? Poor Ireland, the most fertile country under Heaven, reduced by cruelly oppressive legislation, a starving and ragged population deriving a wretched and precarious subsistence from half-cultivated land, having neither domestic industries nor foreign trade.

With a generally diffused system of judicious and discriminating protection, concentrating the industry of EACH COUNTRY on ITS OWN soil and indigenous materials, industries flourish, wealth increases, commerce follows, population multiplies throughout the entire globe. But without such artificial legislation, population, industry and wealth have a tendency to concentrate and to confine themselves to favoured spots. There they may flourish; but over the vast area of the world at large they have a tendency to dwindle and to decay. Protection wisely regulated, instead of being, as has been represented, a blight on universal industry, is a system of universal irrigation, diffusing industry where industry would otherwise never have flowed and making even the desert rejoice! Suppose France, at the close of the last war, fifty years ago (since machinery was established in England) had repealed the laws protecting her manufacturers of cotton and hardware, where would now have been the industry of the banks of the Seine, of Rouen and Elbeuf? What would have become of the thriving population of Tourcoing and Roubaix, Mulhausen and St. Etienne? Manchester and Birmingham, and Glasgow and Sheffield would have most effectually prostrated all of them, and turned the banks of the Seine, and half the thriving towns of France, into a desert. And the loss to France would have been so enormous that her power of purchasing would have been well-nigh destroyed. England would flourish, but France, except in her wine districts, would, so far as manufactures are concerned, have been laid a waste. But what France would not do, Ireland has done. The United States of America also REFUSED to adopt a Free-trade legislation; but, like France, chose a strict "Protection" for all domestic productions! The act of Union between England and Ireland seventy-six years ago, provided for the gradual and total extinction of the then existing protection to Irish manufacturers against English ones. But France and America acted otherwise, and their manufacturing industries stand unsurpassed on earth; and only equalled, in some instances, by the British! According to Free-trade theory, it would be immaterial though the wool-grower lived eighteen thousand miles away from the weaver, and the farmer as far from the miller, baker or consumer. But examination will discover advantages in the mutual vicinity of various producers. Let the farmer, the wool-grower and the gardener live close by the miller, the woollen-manufacturer, the linen-manufacturer, and then the cultivator and stock-breeder will find at his own door a sure market, not only for corn, hay, cheese, flax and wool, but for the more perishable articles, beef, mutton, pork (not salted and half-spoiled, but fresh), for his butter, poultry, eggs, fruit and fresh butter. The manufacturer also finds all around and near him not a speculative market, but an explored and safe market for coats, shirts, trousers, stockings, gowns, boots and shoes. Nay, agriculture, manufactures, and trade in general no longer merely fringe the sea-shore and rivers, but penetrate into the interior, and add a solid and tenfold value to the most retired and inaccessible glens. It is not merely every square yard of territory, and the productions of every industry down to its very refuse, that will be, and are thus utilised by the mutual vicinity. The variety of the occupations open to the people utilises all human gifts and talents. Let agricultural, pastoral and manufacturing industry flourish side by side, and you will have everywhere around you occupation fit for everybody; appropriate employment for stolid strength, for manual skill and dexterity, for inventive genius, for active and sedentary, for childhood, youth

and aged. Thus you gain that double set of producers, that double production of wealth, that double set of home, native markets, everywhere insuring a reproductive, reduplicative operation of the home, native trade. Industry is thus not only developed everywhere and spread over all lands, but distributed to all persons and perpetuated to all time; thus capital can be turned over and reproduced not only every year, but every month! The TRUE GAIN OF EVERY COUNTRY IS AMPLE WAGES TO THE LABOURER! The labouring classes are "THE NATION." They are the greatest producers, and they are the greatest consumers. The Free-trade policy of universal competition extending all over the whole world, calls for and imperatively demands that the remuneration of the labourer must be everywhere beaten down to the level of the worst paid labourers in the world, whether he be free or bond, black or white. The industrious and virtuous English or British workman must starve unless, indeed, he will consent to be, with his wife and children, reduced to the level of serf or slave, to be fed as badly, clothed as badly, and lodged as wretchedly as the poorest of his competitors.

FREE-TRADERS SAY "PROTECTED MANUFACTURES DO NOT PROSPER."

This statement is so far from being true, dear reader, that a review of what Protection has done in other parts of the world, the history of protected manufactures, of any description, will simply contradict the assertion.

All great manufactures had their origin in the protective system. Take England herself for instance, the greatest, and, until lately, the most prosperous. All her own manufactures took their rise in a system of protective duties, so high as to amount to prohibitions. In addition to this, England had a great naval superiority, and owing to the great hostilities that raged in Europe for nearly a quarter of a century before 1815, she enjoyed a further accidental monopoly of the manufacturing industry of the world; and this very stringent protection resorted to by England has not only created manufactures, but absolutely created them where they would not naturally have existed in spite of great natural disadvantages. Other nations have coal and iron ore as well as England. The United States are even richer in this respect; but other nations have also what England has not. They have native raw materials. It is, further, a positive fact that Great Britain is singularly poor in the raw materials which constitute the basis of the greater portion of her manufacturing industry. England has no cotton, no silk, no fine wool: even her best iron has to be imported from Sweden; her oils, gums, colours, woods, &c., have to be brought from the ends of the world to England. But in her own ships. Next to England in her manufacturing industry is France (?) Her manufacturing industry, though still inferior to English, has nevertheless, since the peace before the accession of Napoleon III., augmented in an even greater ratio, but under the strictest and most jealous Protection. "Protection to French Industry," from the time of COLBERT downwards, has been and will be, the policy of whatever party is uppermost in France. There is GERMANY again. But one thing is certain as regards Germany, viz.: that exactly coincident in time and place with the most STRINGENT PROTECTIVE LAWS, has arisen in Germany a manufacturing industry and production of wealth, without an approach to a parallel in all the former history of that country. On every side can be seen rising mills, factories, workshops, and warehouses, teeming with an industrious and busy population; and so far from agricultural and pastoral industries being neglected, they were never more prosperous, more rapid in their progress, to say nothing of their mining and metallurgical industry, which has received the most astonishing impetus since Germany has protected herself from the influx of the English manufactures. She has undoubtedly been growing richer and more generally and busier employed. Nay, hardware, the product of German industry, is actually finding its way into Birmingham itself, and articles of German make are superseding articles of Birmingham make (1870). The most protected are beginning to beat the less protected articles out on their own English soil. And the Birmingham people have not any power to retaliate: German tariffs, like the American, take care of that. German princes, ministers, philosophers, and people are agreed to maintain the Protection which has so abundantly justified their sagacity.

RUSSIA.

LOOK NOW AT RUSSIA! Examine the protective and jealous tariff of that infant, but colossal state; then contemplate its results. Take the testimony of that most unexceptionable witness, Mr. Cobden. He has visited the stringently protected textile manufactories of Russia, which but for protection would never have had an existence. And what does he say? That the Russians are to be, as before, our customers for cotton goods, and to take them in return for the boundless exportations of corn from the Black Sea? Vain delusion! No, no. But according to him, Russian manufactures are now so far advanced and flourishing as to threaten a rivalry with Great Britain herself, and that every branch of human industry and art is, by the same means, beginning to flourish and expand in an empire which, stretching from west to east, and from east to west again, in an almost unbroken continuity around Europe, Asia and America, extends in latitude, from Archangel nearly to Constantinople, embracing, notwithstanding its sterile tracts, some of the finest climates and soils in the world,—connected and concentrated as they will soon become by its new iron highways. Within these limits of her great borders are cherished the productions of ALL lands. There have just been exhibited in England some specimens of the finest steel from native Russian iron fabricated in Russia, not only into the swords, bayonets and lances of an overwhelming military power, but also into table cutlery and tools, that would test the ability of workmen in Birmingham and Sheffield; while the native gold and silver plate, the diamonds, the jewellery, the exquisite silks, the gold and silver tissues and brocades, dispute the prize with Paris and Lyons!! Storch, the great political economist, about the year 1815, persuaded the Russian government to give the Free-trade system a trial. It was tried. And so great was the effect on the industries and general prospects of the nation, that its most dismal failure imperatively called for its speedy abandonment. All are now agreed that domestic production stringently protected is the true policy of Russia; and all find now, that in Russia as everywhere else, it is the sure road to permanent prosperity and power!!!

In Tooke's "History of Russia," (Vol. iii., 1799) the following may be read, viz. :— "The great importance of Russian commerce is so universally known, it will be needless to expatiate on it here. Nor is it less notorious that it was very considerable in remote periods of Northern history, Dutch, French, Spanish, English, &c. But never was the Russian commerce so important, so extensive, and to so large an amount as since the commencement of the prosperous reign of the Empress Catherine II." Here follows a long account and comparative statements of imports and exports. "But," it continues, "by far the GREATER IMPORTANCE is the INTERNAL COMMERCE of Russia. The Empress Catherine II., in her ukase concerning the imperial revenue of the year 1786, DECLARED that WITHOUT BURDENING HER PEOPLE, her REVENUE was MORE than DOUBLE what it was when she ascended the throne." Since the above, Henry Storch, vice-president of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, induced the Government of Russia to give the English Free-trade system a trial; and accordingly it got a trial of many years, till its very dismal failure evinced itself in the FAST DECLINE of the general industries, wealth, power, and progressive prosperity of the entire empire. Although the pupil of this above-named Henry Storch, Nicholas, was, doubtless, but little familiarised with questions of finance, nevertheless, these matters touched his gravest interests too nearly not to oblige him to take an active part in them, when he ascended the throne. This monarch accustomed himself to labour very diligently, and frequently with General Concrine (since Count Concrine), who was then at the head of the financial affairs of the empire. "It would," said history continues, "have been IMPOSSIBLE to entrust this department of the public service to any more skilful heads."—(Concrine was a German by birth; he died 21st September, 1845.) Until the year 1823, the finances of this empire had been but very indifferently administered by Count Demitri Gourieff, whose power and influence, it is supposed, and not his own merits, kept him in a post so difficult, especially in Russia, whose resources are called upon to support the highest pretensions. But under Count Concrine, all wore a new aspect, although the prohibitory Protection system had been already two years in force (1821) and in full vigour. Great activity soon animated all the various branches of social industries; and general progress was manifested in a most strik-

ing degree throughout the entire empire; and the sources of the public revenue became MORE abundant than ever was known before. This great financial minister was now titled the 'COLBERT of Russia!'—the 'Redeemer' of Russia, as Colbert was of France. So much of general as well as of individual progress and improvement attaches to the name of Concrine, that he appears destined long to survive his decease, in public favour. The revenue arising from duty on brandy alone, which before 1806 was merely nominal, was, by Concrine, increased to above £2,666,660 in 1825; and in 1844 it absolutely amounted to £5,333,450. Before Concrine's time, the expenditure of the treasury constantly preponderated on the wrong side, and the empire's treasury no longer corresponded to its political greatness. But Count Concrine found the remedy; during twenty years of his administration the revenues of this vast empire increased by 160 millions, that is to say, by more than a third of the entire total; and they are now (1847), more than 50 millions sterling. Although it is less than half the public receipts of France, it is, nevertheless, an enormous increase when compared with the state of Russian finances fifty years ago!" What can our Free-trade advocates have to say to this case of facts, of trials, and of failures, of their ILLUSIONARY system? Russia, doubtless, would be as far advanced in all the arts, sciences, and manufactures of Europe as any nation on earth, were it not for that educated yet idiotic politician, Henry Storch, above alluded to.—"Secret History of the Court of Russia, Emperors Alexander and Nicholas;" by F. H. Schmitzler, Vol. i., pages 290-1.

Bear in mind, the above History positively and most emphatically records, as a fact, that the INTERNAL COMMERCE of Russia was the SOURCE of her GREATEST REVENUE; such is also the case in the United States of America, France, Germany; and it is said England, but British empire is scattered at sea !!!

BELGIUM.

- Take now the little State of Belgium; in proportion to her area, her manufacturing industry is doubtless greater than that of any other nation in the world, not excepting the British. But in Belgium, not only has the Protective system long flourished, but the protecting duties are now (1870) higher than ever! Belgium is the very paradise of strict Protection; nay, there is even a bounty given by the government on exportation. Superficial observers call it an absurd tax on the majority for the benefit of a minority. But many who censure the king and the government of Belgium for this flagrant breach of Free-trade barren rules, would themselves have been unable to preserve that little and defenceless kingdom, not only in peace, but in prosperity, amidst those storms of war and revolution that have surrounded her! Here again, as elsewhere, the advantages of neighbouring or local agriculture and manufactures are apparent. Protected manufacturing industry has overflowed the country. Land, by nature a mere sand, has actually but artificially become some of the most fertile in all Europe, and supports a far larger population than any other.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Now, my dear reader, let us cross the Atlantic Ocean, and look through the past and present policy of the United States of America. At one time we find rather low import duties were tried even here. The effects were considered—by those best calculated to form a correct judgment—most ruinous to the nation as to the individuals. They were, therefore, abandoned for duties avowedly protective. (See Mr. Clay's detailed and accurate History of these changes and their effects.) Free-traders prognosticated mischief would follow, but the result was UNEXAMPLED PROSPERITY to this day, and a vast extension of cotton, woollen, and iron manufactures. Branches of industry, which in the presence of Free-trade imports from Great Britain would never have had a beginning, now rival Europe.

Protection! Protection!! is now the instinctive cry of the people and the finally settled policy of the whole United States. Enormous duties are to this day levied on all English and foreign manufactures, for the avowed purpose of strictest Protection. American cotton mills have risen up, not only in the North but now in the South, and beginning to buy away on the spot, the cotton from the Manchester buyers. And a powerful party are calling actually for an increase of those duties.

Who is the man of all Americans best calculated to occupy the presidential chair? Impartial judges all say Henry Clay! Now, it is well known that he, though a Southerner, is a staunch advocate for really jealously stringent protective legislation, and he declares Free-trade to be a most flattering illusion; destructive to the best solid interests of all America! Well, what does Daniel Webster say? "I was once a Free-trader, but now I must confess that Free-trade is erroneous in theory, and would in practice inflict a mortal injury on America!" And the actual President, General Taylor, is an avowed Protectionist.—(These observations were written in 1849.) His successor, Mr. Fillmore, is yet more decidedly a Protectionist. More enlightened society is NOT to be FOUND ALL OVER THE CIVILIZED GLOBE than is found in the city of Boston. Even there as elsewhere, and amongst the most enlightened and influential classes, the doctrines of Protection reign triumphantly. Well, what is the consequence of this policy? Or, what is coincident with this misdirected* industry? It is this: no longer (as during the low import duties) does general distress, but prodigious prosperity reign. Notwithstanding a most expensive war, the United States were NEVER so prosperous as at this hour (1850).

Here are instances of nations adopting the Protective system. In every case manufactures have been CREATED, are not declining, but prospering! But again, where are those great and flourishing manufactures that have never been enjoying Protection?—that were not produced and absolutely cradled by Protection? The Great Exhibition of 1851 replies to these questions. There is NOT ONE. And at the same time you are pointed out the marvels of industry created and nurtured by Protection, which shine everywhere, above, below, around, and on all sides. If unprotected industries flourish, why are they not exhibited? Where are those countries to be found whose manufacturing industries were not begun under Protection, and fostered by Protection, and are prosperous under Free-trade? There is NOT ONE on the habitable globe! Look at the two nations in Europe that most freely admit foreign commodities. They are Ireland and Turkey. Ireland has now, and ever has had since her union with England or nearly so, fifty years of perfectly free-trade with the richest manufacturing nation on the earth, and now has her railways to distribute that free-trade. With one single exception, that of the linen trade, which was created and maintained by Protection, and assisted by annual GOVERNMENT GRANTS for a long time, has she any but manufactures of a most sickly complexion? declined, declining, and gone? Alas, Ireland is but another name for everything that is capable, but withal, wretched and abortive! Now look at TURKEY!! Her customs duties have been and are low, her commercial system is what is called liberal. The RUINS of ASIA MINOR attest that it once did and still might maintain a multitudinous population. Now, Asia Minor is a desert. No part of the sultan's vast dominions exhibits any signs of his liberal policy, of his Free-trade tariff.

CANADA.

CANADA has not advanced anything approaching so rapidly as her neighbouring districts of the United States, simply because she had no manufacturing industries worthy of mention in comparison with her American neighbours, who not only had such industries, but also had them protected against the British. Canada at the same time, and ever since, had Free-trade with England, and England with the Canadas,—aye, and she takes care to ensure Free-trade with all her possessions at home and abroad—and in the Canadas as everywhere else British, i. e. English manufactures smothered the infant ones of Canada, of Ireland, Indies, Cape of Good Hope, and others; and I will vouchsafe Australia will be sure to share the same fate, unless Australians act for themselves, and that promptly.

The United States have manufactories established and prospering, because they have protective duties. The British colonial possessions' products are not protected in London or any English markets, against foreign products. Here is another reason why the Australians should look to their own interests. England does not now as formerly protect Canadian produce in the London markets. Is not this a selfish policy for England to pursue?

A nation that manufactures for itself prospers. A nation that manufactures for itself, as well as grows food for itself, produces two markets, two values, and thus

* Misdirected according to Free-traders: superficially.

creates wealth at both ends of the exchange. A manufacturing nation grows rich much faster than a merely agricultural one, for obvious reasons. An agricultural people turn over their capital but once a year; while the manufacturers sometimes turn it over three or four times, and it may be a dozen times, if the markets are at home (local). Beside, local markets are the most profitable, more certain and enduring.

AMERICA.

Now, let us look how those really go-ahead Americans have got on with strict Protection and their own domestic markets; how they had to submit to English selfishness. But nevertheless, England can hardly be censured, as it most certainly should be the first duty of every country to protect and assist, by every legitimate means in its power, the industries of her own population; and no person will say that England, or at least the British government, ever neglected theirs. In 1414, the British government enacted a protective law entitled "An Act to Regulate the Trade of British Possessions abroad." By this means they secured all the water carriage in their power to British shipping. But I must go back to the Americans while they were subject to British rule. For instance, while in a colonial state the European commerce of the Americans was confined to Great Britain and to Cape Finisterre. The great staples of the colonies could only be carried to the parent State, and all the imports from Europe must come through the same channel. The colonial policy of the parent State was not confined to the external commerce, but extended also to the internal concerns of the colonies (now U.S.A.). These colonists were entirely prohibited from carrying on some kinds of manufactures; and in others were restricted in very narrow limits so as NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THOSE OF A SIMILAR KIND IN THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

After the Revolutionary war was over and American Independence declared and secured, all encouragement was given to all the necessary manufactures, and the zeal, ingenuity and industry of the people, supplied the place of a foreign market. At this period of peace (1783), their commercial as well as their political situation was new and attended with many difficulties. During a contest of over seven years their commerce was annihilated, their shipping nearly destroyed, public credit much impaired, and a vast debt accumulated. The whole expense of this war was 135,000,000 of dollars. It now became necessary for Congress to provide permanent funds to pay off this great debt, and accordingly the Congress levied duties on imports. Before the adoption of the constitution which now authorises Congress to levy customs duties, for the exclusive purpose of paying off the national debt, and for the first two years after the war and return of peace with England, trade was resumed with Great Britain to the value of more than £6,000,000, and the following accounts from the English customs books show the amount of trade done between England and the United States of America from 1784 to 1790 in sterling money :—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.
	£	£
1784	749,345	3,679,467
1785	893,594	2,308,023
1786	843,119	1,603,465
1787	893,687	2,009,111
1788	1,023,789	1,886,142
1789	1,050,198	2,525,298
1790	1,191,071	3,431,778
Total	5,944,803	17,443,284

This is for only seven years.

Thus it is manifest England had the best of this exchange by not less than £11,498,481; the value here stated being the official value, which is considerably less than the real value of the goods. Hence the amount of goods that were im-

ported from England into the United States of America in 1784 could not have been less than 18,000,000 of dollars, and 1785 (the following year) 12,000,000 of dollars, making in those two years about 30,000,000 of dollars; while the exports to England during the same period amounted to only between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 dollars.

This vast influx of goods soon drained the United States of the greater part of their specie remaining at the close of the war. Money now was rarely to be had. The impoverishment of the people, of the whole country, from war, the want of regular markets for its products, and the general want of employment for the people of every State, the want of uniform commercial regulations, retarded the payment of the interest of the public debt (like New South Wales). Public credit was gone, the public debt itself was considered of little value, and was at length sold by many of its original holders for about the tenth of its original value. Private credit was also much impaired. Thus burdened with public and private debts and pressed with taxes innumerable and with a scarcity of money, some of the States had recourse to paper money and tender laws; and in one State there was an open insurrection which threatened not only the peace and existence of that State, but the peace and existence of the entire Union itself. In this situation all became sensible of the absolute necessity of regulating the commercial intercourse with foreign nations. After much delay and trouble from conflicting parties, a general convention of the States representatives was held at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, and on the 17th of September following, a new constitution was consented to by those members composing this conference, and having been ratified by a large majority of the States, went into operation on the 4th November, 1789. By this constitution the general government is vested with power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, and to regulate commerce with all foreign nations, and among the several States and Indian tribes. Under this new and wise and beneficial form of government, commerce soon revived, public and private credit was restored, a new spring given to agriculture and manufactures, and the permanent prosperity of the whole United States for ever ensured by this new security given to every individual industry. Since that auspicious period, the United States have peaceably acquired a vast territory; and no country on earth has ever increased more rapidly in population, wealth and internal and external resources than the United States!! Previously to the period of revolution, the North-American colonists, it is well known, were in a degree of bondage to the parent state in regard to manufactures as well as commerce. No sooner had they commenced manufacturing for themselves some coarse woollen fabrics, than the jealousies of English manufacturers of the same kind of fabric was excited lest they should not only supply themselves with those woollens, but foreign nations also; and as early as 1690, Parliament declared, "That no wool, yarn, or woollen manufactures of American plantations should be shipped thence, or even laden, in order to be transported from thence to any place whatsoever." In 1719, the House of Commons also declared that the erecting of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain. While the colonists were increasing in population and endeavouring to secure to themselves the benefit of their own labour, complaints were being constantly made to the English Parliament by interested individuals that the colonists were not only carrying on trade, but were setting up manufactories detrimental to Great Britain. These complaints produced an order of the House of Commons in 1731, directing the Board of Trade to investigate or enquire into and report upon those complaints, with respect to laws made, manufactories set up, and trade carried on detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain. This report of the board, made in pursuance of this order, in February, 1731-3, contains the best account that has fallen within our notice of the situation of the manufactures in the colonies (now United States) at the period, and discloses in most unmistakable terms, the policy of the parent country towards her colonies.

On this subject we shall present to our reader some extracts. "The following complaints," the board says, "have been lately made against some plantation laws, viz.: in Massachusetts Bay, an Act was made to encourage the manufacture of paper, which law interferes with the profits made by the British merchant on foreign paper sent thither." "In New England, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and in Somerset in Maryland, they have fallen into the manu-

facture of woollen and linen cloth for their own uses only, for the products of these colonies being chiefly sheep, and cattle, and grain, the estates of the inhabitants depend wholly on those products and farming, which could not be managed without a certain number of sheep; and their wool would be entirely lost were not their servants allowed to be employed during the winter in manufacturing it for the use only of their families." "Flax and hemp being also easily raised, the inhabitants made them into a coarse sort of cloth, bags, traces and halters for their horses, which they found did more service than those they had from any part of Europe." "It is much to be desired that some expedient might be fallen upon to direct their thoughts from undertakings of this nature; especially so because those manufactures in course of time, may be carried on in a greater degree, unless an early stop be put to their progress, by employing the people in naval stores." "Moreover, we find that certain trades carried on and manufactures set up there, are detrimental to the trade, navigation, and commerce of Great Britain." "Great quantities of hats are made in New England, of which the company of hatters in London complained to us that great quantities of these hats are being constantly exported to Spain, Portugal, and our own West India Islands." Thus, the complaint of the company of hatters in London did not pass unheeded by the British Parliament. Immediately after this report, an act was passed (5 George II. 1732) "to prevent the exportation of hats out of any of His Majesty's colonies or plantations in America, and to restrain the number of apprentices taken by the hatters in the said colonies or plantations; and for the better encouragement of making hats in Great Britain." By this act not only was the exportation of hats to a foreign port prohibited, but their transportation from one British plantation to another British plantation was also prohibited under most severe penalties. There are other prohibitory clauses in the act. IRON manufacturers also claimed their share in the benefits to be derived from the colonies. They were willing that the poor colonists should be allowed to do all the dirty, heavy, least paying, and least enticing work; to reduce the IRON ORES with which their lands abound, into PIG IRON, and even into bar iron, provided they, the English, could monopolize the manufacture of it beyond this incipient stage. In 1750, therefore, Parliament passed an act permitting "pig iron" and bar iron to be imported from American colonies into London duty free; but prohibited the creation or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel in the colonies, under a penalty of £200; and every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, was declared a common nuisance; and the colonial governors, on the information of two witnesses on oath, were ordered to cause the same to be abated within thirty days, or forfeit the sum of £500!!!

The various enactments of the mother country restraining the manufactures as well as the commerce of her own colonies, were considered by the latter as extremely oppressive and injurious, and in some of them as a violation of their rights. If the colonists were indeed English subjects entitled to all the privileges of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, they could not see why they should be placed on a footing so very different—why they should not be permitted equally with those in England, to seek the best markets for their produce—why subjects in the British colonies should not be allowed to manufacture the iron ore found in their own lands purchased from the British crown, to such an extent and in such a manner as they might think fit and prudent. Nor could the hat makers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, be very easily induced to believe, they had not an equal right to employ as many apprentices as the hat makers of London, Bristol, or Liverpool.

During the the war of the Revolution, the Americans continued and increased their household manufactures; and as far as possible introduced the various manufactures of articles necessary for their defence. One of the first objects which claimed the attention of the first Congress under the new form of government, was the encouragement and protection of the manufacturing, as well as the COMMERCIAL interests of the country. We must also protect and assist ship building and navigation. In Mr. Hamilton's celebrated report, in January, 1779, every argument was urged and exhausted in favour of this policy and expediency of protecting and encouraging this branch of domestic economy. Some branches of domestic manufactures had at that time made such progress as, in a great

measure, to supply the home market. Among these, the secretary, Mr. Hamilton, states those of skins and leather, iron, wood, flax, hemp, bricks and coarse tiles, and potters' wares, ardent spirits and malt liquors, writing and printing paper, sheeting and wrapping paper, press paper and paperhangings, hats, women's stuffs and silk shoes, refined sugar, oils, soap and candles, copper and brass wares, carriages of all kinds, snuffs and tobaccos, and a host of other articles in general use. These articles were made in Massachusetts by way of regular trades. In addition to these, great quantities of cloths, woollen and cotton and flax, and mixtures of them, were made in families in every part of the States. President Washington delivered his speech to Congress, in January, 1790, dressed in a suit of broadcloth of States manufacture! The protection and patronage thus given to American manufactures by the government of the States and by individuals, and being further secured to them by the tariff of 1789, did not escape the notice of British statesmen, and I beg leave to call the attention of the reader to the celebrated report the committee of the Board of Trade in 1791, to which I alluded above, when on the subject of West India trade. Although in this report it is acknowledged the United States have full right and power to impose duties either for the purpose of raising a revenue, or encouraging the produce or manufactures of their territories, yet the committee discover no little anxiety to prevent, if possible, the increase of those duties on British manufactures to such an extent as to interfere with the introduction and consumption of British manufactures and merchandise in the United States of America. To prevent this if possible, the committee recommended that in the negotiations for a commercial treaty with the United States, then contemplated, two propositions should be made on the part of the British government in relation to this subject. The first was, "That the duties on British manufactures imported into the United States shall not be raised above what they now are at present (1791)." "It may be of use," the committee continue, "to bind the United States not to raise those duties above what they now are, by obtaining an express stipulation for this purpose; but if this concession cannot be obtained and well secured, it may be sufficient, perhaps, to stipulate that the duties on British manufactures should not, at any time, be raised above the duties now payable on the like manufactures imported from Great Britain into France and Holland, according to the commercial treaties with those powers." The second proposition was, "That the duties on all other merchandise, whether British or foreign, imported from Great Britain into the United States shall not be raised higher, at any time, than on like merchandise imported from any other European nation." It is manifest that these propositions evince the usual solicitude on the part of the British government not only to secure the consumption of British manufactures in the United States, but also to secure for British shipping the carriage of foreign articles, on equal terms with other nations. In 1809, the House of Representatives at Washington not only ordered the re-printing of Mr. Secretary Hamilton's report on manufactures before referred to, but directed the then existing Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Gallatin) to collect information with respect to the various manufactures of the United States, and to report the same, together with a plan best calculated to protect and support them." Mr. Gallatin estimated the value of the manufactures of the United States then at more than 120,000,000 dollars, and he thought it not improbable that the raw materials used, and the provisions and other articles consumed by the manufacturers, created a home market for agricultural products not very inferior to that which arose from foreign demand. He also estimated the value of goods made from cotton and wool to exceed 40,000,000 dollars annually. In those days the manufacture of cotton and wool was confined to families. The DEMAND for AMERICAN MANUFACTURES DURING the "WAR" ITSELF was SUFFICIENT ENCOURAGEMENT, and the prices obtained for domestic articles remunerated the manufacturers DURING ITS CONTINUANCE. But the duration of the WAR was TOO SHORT to enable and enrich the Americans in their VENTURE in a NEW BUSINESS to compete with the OLD and EXPERIENCED MANUFACTURERS IN EUROPE ON THE RETURN OF PEACE. This was viewed by British statesmen with no little satisfaction, and was deemed an ample compensation for any losses sustained during the war by English manufacturers. LORD BROUGHAM, referring to the losses sustained by the latter, declared in Parliament that it was worth while to incur a loss upon the first exportation of goods to America in order to glut, "to stifle for ever in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced

into existence contrary to the natural course of things." American statesmen now saw the absolute necessity, as well as the justice, to protect and encourage those manufactures which, in their hour of need and trial, were called, if not forced into existence. The Tariff Act of 1828 was a most celebrated one for the American manufacturer and the entire Union. A permanent duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem* was imposed on various articles, and among these were hats, cabinet wares, all manufactures of wood, carriages of all kinds, leather, and all manufactures of leather and paper of every description. And to encourage manufacture of other articles a specific duty of 3 cents per lb. was laid on all imported brown sugar!

With respect to cheap cottons, it was provided that all cotton cloths the original cost of which was less than 25 cents per square yard should be deemed to have cost that sum and pay duty accordingly. This was the commencement of what was called the minimum principle; and its real object was to wholly exclude from the markets of the United States the low, cheap, coarse cottons of East India. These cottons, and all other foreign goods, were mostly carried by English shipping, or subjected to very great restrictions not likely to be well received by foreign shipping. This afforded beneficial encouragement to the American cotton planters as well as to American cotton manufacturers. A duty of 25 per cent. was laid on all woollen goods not above the value of 33½ cents per yard. And after June 30, 1825, a duty of 33½ per cent. *ad valorem*, was imposed on those costing more than 33½ cents per yard! In addition to the want of skill and experience, the American manufacturer of those woollens had to struggle against the countervailing laws and regulations of the British Government, made with the express intention of injuring this branch of American manufactures and industries, or, in the language of Brougham, "to crush it in its cradle." Prior to the American Act of 1824 abovementioned, the duty on wool imported into England was 6d. per lb., but soon after the passing of the said American Act of 1824, this duty of 6d. per lb. was reduced to only 1d. per lb., and for the purpose, as the debates in the English Parliament show, of enabling the English manufacturer in woollens to send his woollens to the United States of America at a cheaper rate. And soon after, with the same object in view, the duty on all wool, the value of which was less than 1s., was reduced to ¾d. per lb. The American manufacturers of wool, finding it impossible to struggle against all these difficulties, again applied to Congress for aid, and the celebrated tariff of 1828 was the result of the appeal. Manufactured wool was to pay a duty of 4 cents per lb. *ad valorem*. Additional duties were laid on iron; also, on hemp and flax and molasses, and the minimum price of cotton was raised to 35 cents the square yard. THIS ENCOURAGEMENT DID VAST BENEFIT FOR THE VARIOUS INDUSTRIES OF THE AMERICAN UNION, NORTH AND SOUTH!!! The time was now approaching when the National Debt, being nearly extinguished, the Sinking Fund, amounting to 10,000,000 dollars annually, would no longer be wanted. Hence a new modification of the revenue system would soon be necessary to meet this new state of things in the financial affairs of the country. In this modification of the duties the advocates of the Protective system contemplated a reduction of the duties principally on those articles which had not been, or could not be, produced in the United States, while the opponents, on the other hand, insisted on making the duties equal. With a view of obtaining the best and most reliable information, and enlightening the public mind on this great and generally interesting subject, two conventions were held in the summer and autumn of 1831. One in the city of Philadelphia was called the Anti-tariff or Free-trade Conference; the other, at the city of New York, called the Tariff or Protectionist CONVENTION. Both were REALLY composed of gentlemen distinguished for their talent and experience, and their addresses to the people of the United States, and memorials to Congress, expressive of their different views of the questions of political economy then agitated, were drawn up with great ability, and will ever keep a high rank among the State papers of the period. Under the influence of these conventions, Congress, after much debate, modified the preceding tariffs. Hammered iron was to pay a duty of 90 cents per 112 lbs., and rolled iron 30 dollars per ton. Tea, imported from China, or any place beyond the Cape of Good Hope, in American ships, and all coffee, to be admitted duty free. This Act was a compromise between the different parties.

But many of the supporters of this Bill disavowed all and any intention of ever giving up the Protection principle. The object they had in view must ever meet the approbation of every American patriot—"FEW SACRIFICES ARE TOO GREAT TO PRESERVE THE PEACE AND HARMONY OF THE UNION." The progress of domestic manufactures under the Protective system thus briefly alluded to, is a subject of inquiry not less useful to the political economist than it is interesting to the inhabitants of America. It cannot be deemed of small importance to a people numbering at present (1835), 14,000,000, and whose annual increase is over half a million, to know to what extent they now are or may hereafter be, dependent upon foreign nations for articles of the first necessity, and among those the various manufactures in wool, cotton, and iron, may claim the first rank. The average value of imports into the United States from 1821 to 1830 inclusive, amounts to 80 millions of dollars; and the average value of exports of products during the same period was nearly 23 millions of dollars, leaving the average annual value of consumption about fifty-seven (57) millions, and this was a time of peace. The imports of 1831-2-3 were much larger than the preceding years. One of the objects of the convention above alluded to, which met at New York, 1831, was to collect information with respect to particular manufactures, and for this purpose a committee was formed and appointed, composed of gentlemen selected from different parts of the United States. The attention of this committee was directed to the manufacture of cotton, wool, iron, and steel, salt, hats, cabinetwares, glass, sugar, and molasses, to the subject of chemistry as connected with manufactures, and the mechanic arts. These reports are before the public, and contain the best account of the particular branches of domestic industry. The report on cottons manufactured in the States of Virginia, Maryland, Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, informs us that in these twelve States there were in operation in 1831 cotton factories to the number of 795, having a capital of 40,614,984 dollars.

Number of spindles in operation	...	...	...	1,246,503
Number of yards of cloth made	...	...	...	230,462,900
Pounds of yarn	...	...	...	10,642,000
Pounds of cotton used	...	...	...	77,757,316
Males employed	18,530	}	Total persons employed	62,148
Females employed	38,927			
Children under 12 years	4,691			
Annual amount of wages	...	...	...	26,000,000 dols.
Pounds of starch used	...	...	...	10,294,944
Barrels of flour for size	...	...	...	1,641,253
Bushels of charcoal	...	...	...	24,490
Gallons of oil	...	...	...	9,205
Cords of wood	...	...	...	17,245
Tons of coal	...	...	...	46,519
Value of articles	...	...	...	300,338 dols.

The spindles building were 599,223 dollars; hand looms 179,024 dollars; and the total dependents were 114,760. In addition to this the managers expended in capital employed in shops for making machinery 2,400,000 dollars. The annual value of machinery made, 3,500,000; annual wages, 1,248,000; capital in bleacheries, 900,000; annual products, 103,760; annual wages, 209,814; capital in printing cottons, 1,000,000; annual value, 1,500,000; number of yards printed, 2,500,000; annual wages, 402,965; making the annual expenditure of all these establishments at not less than 32,036,760; and the annual wages at not less than 12,155,723 dollars. This report includes only twelve States, and with respect to the other States, as well as to the returns actually made in those twelve States, the committee say, "In the Southern and Western States no less than thirty establishments have been reported to the committee, but having no reliable returns from these they prefer to omit them altogether. And much reluctance has been found among the manufacturers in giving all the details required by the committee, a great proportion of them mistaking the intent of the inquiry. This report does not include the cotton manufactured in families. It is estimated that

in all there cannot be a less value in the estimates than 40,000,000 of dollars, and that at the present time, 1834, must be considerably more in excess of this amount." (So much for America.)

While the United States of America were consuming more than 79,000,000 of lbs. of cotton annually, they were also at the same time supplying three-fourths of all the cotton manufactured in Europe. In 1831-2 the whole quantity imported into Great Britain averaged 287,000,000 lbs., of which 219,000,000 were the growth of and exported from America, leaving only 68,000,000 lbs. for all other nations. The total value of cotton goods manufactured annually in Great Britain, Mr. M'Culloch estimates at £36,000,000, or about 172,000,000 dollars, based on the following data:—Raw materials at 7d. per lb., £6,000,000; wages of 833,000 weavers and spinners, bleachers, &c., at £24 a year each, £20,000,000; wages of 110,000 engineers, machine makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c., at £30 a year each, £3,333,000; profits of the proprietors, wages of superintendents, sums to purchase machinery, coals, &c., £6,667,000—£36,000,000. The capital employed is estimated by some authorities, £56,000,000—subsistence for from 1,200,000 to 1,400,000 persons. That the growth and consumption of cotton in America has increased there can not be a doubt. In 1833, the number of bales of cotton consumed in the village of "LOWELL" alone was 32,607, and must also have increased in other places in the Union. And in 1834, the consumption could not have been less than 300,000 bales. The manufactures of woollens have greatly increased, but to what extent cannot be learnt so well as in the case of cotton. The number of sheep in the United States in 1831 were 20,000,000. The committee estimated the quantity of wool produced in America in the years 1829-30-31 at 50,000,000 lbs., worth on the average of said years 40 cents per lb.—20,000,000 dollars, and when manufactured at 40,000,000 dollars, and now (1835) cannot be short of 70,000,000.

IRON.

IRON and its various manufactures may fairly claim first rank in importance over all others. For national defence it is absolutely indispensable, and it is most essential to the prosperity, and even to the very existence, of agriculture, commerce, and the mechanical arts. Without it the merchant cannot build his ship, and if he could, neither the farmer, the manufacturer, nor the artisan, could furnish him with anything to carry in it. Without it a nation cannot prosper. The most untutored savage in these remotest islands of the Pacific Ocean soon learns its value, and he will barter anything he has for a tomahawk or a knife to enable him the better to shape his canoe, or to point his spear.

Well might the secretary, Mr. Hamilton, therefore say in his report on manufactures, that "he most specially recommended the manufacturing of our iron ores to the special patronage and protection of the national legislature. The manufacture of this article (iron)," he says further on, still referring to iron manufactures, "are entitled to a pre-eminent rank; none are more essential in their kinds, nor so extensive in their use. They constitute in whole or in part the implements, or the material, or both, of almost every useful occupation; their instrumentality is everywhere conspicuous." To encourage the production and manufacture of this article, he not only proposed duties on all imports of foreign iron and its manufactures, but also with respect to firearms and military weapons necessary for national defence, suggested the propriety of making them at public expense. This encouragement was the more necessary, as at that time, because the British Government had a few years before, with a view, no doubt, to prevent the rivalry of nations in this particular manufacture, passed "an Act (25th George III.), prohibiting the carrying out of the realm of any of the various tools or instruments then in use in the manufacture of iron." This may be considered as a supplement to the various Acts passed prior to the American Revolution prohibiting the manufacturing of all iron in the colonies, plantations, &c. We have no date by which to ascertain the quantity of its iron produced in the States prior to 1810. At that time, according to returns, the quantity of bar-iron made in the country was 24,471 tons, valued at 2,640,778 dollars, of which 10,690 tons were made in Pennsylvania.

From that time to 1830, the quantity had increased to 112,866 tons. This appears from the report of the Convention in 1831, appointed to investigate the

subject. It shows, that in addition to the quantity of iron (bar-iron) above-mentioned, 191,536 tons of pig-iron was also at the time made in the country; and that the value of both amounted to 13,329,976 dollars; and that in making this no less than 29,254 men were employed, and over 146,273 persons subsisted thereon, whose ANNUAL wages were 8,776,420 dollars; and that in their support the farmer furnished food to the value of 4,000,490 dollars. The average quantity of hammered iron imported into the United States from 1820 to 1830 was about 26,200 tons annually, and of rolled iron about 5600 tons, making for both 31,800 tons; and which, as before shown, was valued at 1,762,000 dollars annually! The value of the various foreign manufactures in iron consumed in this country on an average, from 1821 to 1830, was about four million dollars yearly, making the whole amount of the foreign iron and its manufactures annually consumed in the United States not far from 5,762,000 dollars in those days! This country received one-half of all the hardware and cutlery exported from Great Britain. The whole value exported from Great Britain on an average of the years 1827, 1828, 1829 and 1830 was 6,624,000 dollars, of which America received 3,726,000. The quantity of bar iron made in this country in 1831 exceeded four times the quantity made in 1810, and the demand has greatly increased since that period, and cannot be short of 40,000,000 dollars. The value of nails alone must be between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 dollars. In 1830 one hundred steam engines were made at Pittsburgh, and in 1831, sugar mills and steam engines, to the value of 3,000,000 of dollars. During this time many new branches of manufacture have been established, and are now almost daily being established in different parts of the United States, and which it is next to impossible to particularise; among them, however, may be enumerated in addition to steam engines and machinery for a great number of purposes the manufacture of stoves and chain cables, and a host of articles in daily use in all parts of the world, also including cannons, muskets, rifles, &c.

LEATHER.

LEATHER, and the various manufactures in leather, are of great importance in every country especially in America, and have been encouraged by duties on all the imports in this article from the commencement of the Union. In consequence of this, the European markets have long since been supplied by American manufactures, and boots and shoes and saddlery have for many years been exported from this country to the amount of between 300,000 and 400,000 dollars yearly. The business of making shoes, boots, saddlery, harness, and trunks is carried on in almost every village and town throughout the United States. In the town of Lynn in Massachusetts the number of shoes made in 1832 was 1,675,781, valued at 942,191 dollars, giving employment to 1741 males and 1775 females yearly. From fifty-three tanneries in Pennsylvania there was sent into the city of New York in 1831 sole leather to the value of 1,578,900 dollars. When to this is added the sole leather of other tanneries, and also the upper leather, calfskins, goat and sheep skins from the other principal States, the value was estimated at 3,458,650 dollars. The total annual value of this article of manufacture in the United States cannot be short of from 40,000,000 to 45,000,000 of dollars. This estimate will be considered too small when we take into consideration that there are 14,000,000 of inhabitants in the United States, at from two to two and a-half dollars annually for boots and shoes for each person. That this value has more than doubled since, cannot be doubted.

HATS.

The American manufacturers have long since supplied all the domestic markets with hats, and a surplus to spare for exportation. In 1831 the value of the hats made there was estimated at 10,400,000 dollars, exclusive of caps of various sorts, and the number of men and boys employed indirectly in this branch of domestic industry was estimated at 15,000, and the females at 3000, and the amount paid for their labour was calculated to be 4,200,000 dollars. The manufacture of caps alone of various kinds is carried on to some extent; an establishment of this description in Albany has in constant employment from 600 to 700 persons, paying wages to the amount of 100,000 dollars a year. In Massachusetts there is a

branch of industry carried on making braid, straw bonnets, and palm-leaf hats, the amount of which in 1832 was estimated to be 800,000 to 900,000 dollars. The value of cabinet ware was estimated to be, in 1831, not less than about 10,000,000 dollars, employing 15,000 men, who were receiving for their labour wages amounting to 4,700,000 dollars. The value of household furniture exported in 1831 was 16,902 dollars, and in 1832 was 200,635 dollars.

SALT.

The manufacture of salt is very great in some parts of this country, and being an article of necessity, its protection and encouragement should never be neglected by any government. The experience of the last war with Great Britain proved the impolicy of a dependence on any foreign nation for this essential article of daily consumption. In 1829 and 1830 the capital in the manufacture of this article was estimated at not less than 6,964,988 dollars, and the quantity then manufactured at 4,444,929 bushels, and the average price at the places of manufacture at 50 cents per bushel, making in value about 2,000,000 dollars. The article is made in most of the United States. The quantity imported into America for a number of years past was about 4,500,000 bushels.

SUGAR.

The acquisition of Louisiana has enabled the Americans to make sugar for themselves. To encourage its production, it will be remembered that in 1816 an addition of half a cent was laid on all imported brown sugar, making the whole duty 3 cents per lb.; and experience has proved beyond all doubt the wisdom of this measure. The quantity made in Louisiana varies with the season. From 1820 to 1826 the quantity was from 25,000 to 30,000 hogsheads per annum, and molasses was about 1,250,000 gallons. From 1828 to 1829 the quantity in each was—sugar, 87,965 hogsheads; of molasses, 4,398,250 gallons; 1831 to 1832, 175,000 hogsheads of sugar, and of molasses 4,650,000 gallons. Louisiana will soon be able to supply enough sugar for the entire consumption of the United States. The sugar plantations of this State now furnish a market for 4,000,000 worth of production of the other States, those at the West furnishing sugar mills, steam engines, &c., and provisions: and those at the North the manufactures of all woollens, cottons, and various other necessary articles of general use. The refining of sugar is of importance also, and refined sugar has been an article of exportation. The amount now manufactured here may be estimated at not less than 2,000,000 dollars annually. The whole number of refineries is 38. In 1831 the value of domestic refined sugar exported was 215,794 dollars; in 1832 it was 74,673; and in 1833 only 40,327 dollars!

GLASS.

The manufacture of glass is satisfactory. In 1831, there were twenty-one furnaces, containing 140 pots. The value made was, for flint glass, 1,300,000 dollars. Two of these establishments near Boston made, annually, to the amount of 400,000; paying, yearly, wages 140,000 dollars! Every other description of glass is also made in the country to a great and very satisfactory amount. In addition to the manufacture of glass of every description and shade in general use, is included 23 factories of cylinder window glass in this country. These had a capital of 690,000 dollars: employed 800 men, whose wages were 230,000 dollars, and made annually 172,500 boxes of glass, 8,625,000 feet, valued at 850,000 dollars. From additional information obtained subsequent to this report, it is shown that the amount of domestic manufactured glass was not less than 3,000,000 dollars.

SILK.

The consumption of foreign silk in the United States is yearly about five millions and a half dollars; constituting nearly the whole of the domestic consumption of this elegant and valuable article of ladies' dress; and yet there is every reason to

believe that silk may be made and manufactured in this country as well as in Europe. The experiment was made long since, in 1766, in the town of Mansfield, in the State of Connecticut, and proved it could be done. Immediately after the War of Independence, the Legislature of Connecticut, in 1783, gave a liberal bounty for every 100 white mulberry trees planted, and this liberal bounty was to continue for 10 years, from 1783 to 1793: a bounty of 3d. was allowed for every ounce of raw silk made therein. This encouragement had the desired good effect, and stimulated the people to persevere in the business previously commenced (1766); and in 1793 there were then 362 lbs. of raw silk made in that town; and the cultivation of it has ever since been successfully prosecuted, and three-fourths of the inhabitants of the town of Mansfield are constantly engaged in it. From six to seven thousand pounds of raw silk is now annually produced, at a value of 30,000 dollars. In 1832, the Connecticut Government again offered another bounty of one dollar for every 100 trees of three years' growth, and of 5 cents. for every pound of silk reeled; and in May, 1834, the bounty was extended to the China mulberry tree, and a company was incorporated for the purpose of manufacturing silk, and the sum of 15,000 dollars, as bonus, was to be paid to said company, to be expended in the encouragement of the growth and manufacture of silk. Messrs. Gray and Bottom received a bonus also for their expenses and labour in inventing and constructing machinery for weaving silk, on condition that they would permit the inhabitants of Connecticut to use their machinery without any charge for their patent of the same. The following estimates of the net proceeds of one acre of trees, set one and a half rods apart, will show that few acres of land afford greater profits. An average product of an acre of land is 40 lbs. of silk each season. This, at five dollars per pound, is 200 dollars: labour and land estimated at eighty dollars: reeling silk thirty-four dollars—this comes to 114 dollars. Value of the silk 200 dollars, leaving eighty dollars profits per acre! This subject is now claiming the attention of the people in various parts of the United States, and we would here suggest whether the farms attached to the houses of industry for paupers, might not be planted with mulberry trees, and some of the inmates of these houses be afterwards profitably employed in rearing and feeding silkworms.

CHEMICALS.

The application of chemistry to the manufactures and arts is well known, but of this application, or rather of the extent of the manufacture of chemicals in the United States, we were entirely ignorant till we saw an able report on this subject made by a Committee of the New York Convention, before alluded to. The report informed us that in 1831 there were not less than 30 chemical establishments in this country; having a capital of 7,158,000 dollars, and making various chemical articles to the yearly value of not less than 1,600,000 dollars; employing 900 hands. This kind of manufacture was secured to Americans by (principally) the tariff of 1824. The committee state that the price of chemicals in the United States before 1824 was one-half more than at present; that in 1820 the price of Epsom salts was not less than from 11 to 13 cents per lb. In 1824 a duty of 4 cents was imposed on all foreign salts of this kind, and the price in 1831 was only 3½ cents per lb. American chrome yellow was for a short time exported to Great Britain, it not being embraced in the British tariffs of duties, but it was soon excluded by duties at the instance of British manufacturers.

LEAD.

The lead mines of America are as productive as any in the world. The American manufacturers of red and white lead as well as sheet, now nearly supply our own markets. In 1821 the quantity of white lead and red lead imported into this country was 4,000,000 of lbs., valued at 325,563 dollars, and the quantity in pigs, bar, and sheets, was 3,197,409 lbs., and the quantity of shot was 2,290,596 lbs., both valued at 204,710 dollars; but since 1830 the value of it has decreased for white and red lead to 30,000 dollars a year, and in 1833 the value of pig, bar, and sheet lead, was 60,000 dollars; shot, 85,000 dollars. The value of white and red lead made in this country at present time (1834), cannot be less than 1,000,000

dollars yearly. In 1833 two establishments for the manufacture of these articles existed in Salem, Massachusetts, and made the following quantities, viz.: White lead, 2,061,894 lbs., red lead, 42,236 lbs.; sugar of lead, 20,586 lbs., and these were valued at 95,000 dollars.

SOAP AND CANDLES.

The American manufacturers of soap and candles have, long since, more than supplied our own markets with these useful articles, so very necessary in the domestic economy of every country. The yearly value of these articles exported, including spermaceti candles, is about 1,000,000 dollars! The amount necessary for our own consumption cannot be less than from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 of dollars annually! The quantity of spermaceti candles made in United States in 1831, was about 2,073,000 lbs., worth 700,900 dollars, and the annual value of this kind of article exported is about 250,000 dollars; leaving for home consumption 460,000 dollars.

PAPER.

Paper was made in New England more than a century ago. In 1827 an Act was passed by the Assembly of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, for the encouragement of this article of manufacture. This Act granted to Daniel Henshman and others the right of making paper, on condition that they, within the first fifteen months, would make one hundred and forty reams of brown paper, and sixty reams of printing paper. This small beginning is referred to within the report of the committee of the Board of Trade before mentioned, made in 1731, in which, speaking of the manufactures of Massachusetts, the Board says: "By a paper-mill set up three years ago they make to the yearly value of £200 sterling." The manufacture of paper, particularly of the coarse kind, no doubt increased, and was carried on to a considerable extent before the Revolution. It was mentioned by Mr. Hamilton, in 1791, as one of the manufactures which, in no inconsiderable degree, supplied the domestic market, and Coxe, in his View of the United States, published not long after the date of this report, states that there were then forty-eight paper-mills in operation in Pennsylvania. In 1810, the value of paper made in this country was about 2,000,000 dollars, and there can be little doubt that it has trebled in value since that period, and must be now from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 dollars. The value of paper made in Connecticut in 1832 was 546,000 dollars. The general Government of America has from the time of its commencement encouraged the manufacture of this article, not only by a fully protecting duty on all imports of paper, or manufactures in paper of various kinds, but by admitting the raw material of which paper is made to be imported free of duty.

The value of rags imported in 1832 was 466,387 dollars; and in 1833 it was 411,785 dollars, principally from Italy and Trieste. This protection and encouragement has nearly excluded all foreign paper from American markets, the value imported into the United States in 1833, being only 63,083 dollars!

TOBACCO.

The value of manufactured tobacco cannot be less than about 2,000,000 dollars annually! In 1810, it was nearly one million and a-half, and in 1832 and 1833 the value of manufactured tobacco exported was on an average about 260,000 dollars. The quantity brought down the lower sections of the James's River Canal in 1833 was 2,230,900 lbs.

CABLES AND CORDAGE.

The manufacture of cables and cordage is most necessary for the public and private vessels of the States; and when it is considered that in 1810 the value of these articles then manufactured in this country exceeded over 4,000,000 dollars, we may safely calculate their value at the present time at 5,000,000 dollars annually.

GOLD AND SILVER, JEWELRY OF ALL KINDS, AND PLATED-WARE.

The American manufacture of these articles will compare favourably with those of any other nation in point of durability and elegance. Domestic manufactured articles of this description now adorn the persons and decorate the sideboards and tea-tables as well as the equipages of the people of the United States. Their value, it is believed, must now be from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 dollars. Nor have the American manufacturers been less successful in other useful and elegant articles of brass, copper, tin and Britannia-ware, which must now amount to not less than from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 dollars yearly; and, in a great measure, supply our home markets. In 1832 the value of the manufactures in brass, copper, tin, Britannia-ware, including clasps, made in Connecticut, was 430,050 dollars!

COMBS.

Those unaccustomed to examine into the extent and value of the various minor articles made and consumed in this country would hardly suppose that combs and buttons were deserving of their notice or were worthy of a place in this list of domestic manufactures. And yet there can be little doubt that the value of these articles deemed so necessary, either for use or ornament, or for both, now made in the United States exceeds 1,500,000 dollars annually! The value of buttons made in 1832 was estimated at 800,000 dollars; the value of those gilt being 300,000 dollars; and others 500,000 dollars. These were made in Waterburg and Meriden, in Connecticut, and in several towns in Massachusetts. Combs of ivory, horn, shell, and wood, were made in different parts of the United States the same year, to the value of from 700,000 to 800,000 dollars. In Massachusetts alone in 1832, the value of combs of all kinds was about 450,000 dollars. These articles not only supply the home markets, but constitute a part of American domestic exports. The value of combs and buttons exported from America in 1832, was 124,305 dollars, and in 1833, it was 1,142,770 dollars.

CARRIAGES.

The making of pleasure coaches and carriages may very fairly and properly be classed amongst the most important and valuable manufactures of this country. We cannot estimate it at less than from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 of dollars annually. In 1832, the value of those made in the city of Newhaven alone was 221,000 dollars, and in 1834 275,000 dollars; and this we believe could not have been more than one-fifteenth of those made in this extensive country, of which we get no estimate. This it may safely be said would make the value annually made in the United States more than 4,000,000 dollars.

FLAX AND HEMP.

The use of cotton now (1834) has to a great extent superseded that of flax. In 1810, the quantity of linen cloth made in families, as per returns by Marshall, was 23,503,591 yards, then valued at 8,261,361 dollars. In New York the quantity made from flax was 5,370,645 yards, valued at 2,014,746 dollars, or about 40 cents per yard; and in Virginia was 5,155,798 yards, valued at 1,178,599 dollars or 33½ cents per yard. The manufacture of cotton bagging has increased with the measure of cotton grown, and has become an article of importance to the cotton planter. About 1,100,000 bales of cotton are raised in the United States, requiring about 5 yards of bagging to each bale: making 5,500,000 yards necessary for this yearly consumption. The average quantity of this article exported from America in the years 1832-3 was 1,112,000 yards, leaving for home consumption of domestic production, say 4,400,000 yards, which at 20 cents per yard is 888,000 dollars. The price of linen is now (1834) much less than in 1810. The whole value of domestic manufacture of flax and hemp in the four States may be placed at not less than 6,000,000 dollars.

When the value of the total manufactures in these articles in the United States are added to those of the above-mentioned four States, the aggregate value can not be estimated at less than from 325,000,000 to 350,000,000 of dollars annually. When the reader compares this amount with that of foreign articles consumed here,

which after deducting teas, wines, coffee, and spices, will not exceed 50,000,000 dollars a year, it will be seen there is a clear saving of not less than 300,000,000 dollars a year for the support of the American industries!!! he will not, can not, fail to duly appreciate the great importance of this branch of domestic industry, and must, we should imagine, be sensible, not only of their importance, but of the absolute necessity of sustaining them!! A recurrence to the tariff of July, 1789, will show that it was the intention of Congress to encourage and protect the production and manufacturing of the following articles among others, viz.: candles, malt liquors, spermaceti candles and wax, cheese, soap, boots and shoes, steel, paper, hats and caps, nails and spikes, hemp, manufactured tobacco, window glass, slit iron, rolled iron, castings, coaches and carriages, and woollens.

HIGHER DUTIES.

The debates on this tariff most clearly prove that in imposing higher duties on these articles than upon others, the great statesmen of that day fully intended to promote the manufacture of them in their own country in preference to any other nation. Nor were the people themselves at that time unmindful of their wants and privileges. No sooner had Congress met under its new powers, than they presented petitions from every quarter almost, praying for the immediate exercise of those powers with which Congress was now invested, for the promotion of the manufacturing as well as the commercial interest of the entire country.

The petition from Baltimore said, "The happy period having now arrived, when the United States are placed in an independent new situation, where the adoption of the general government gives our Sovereign Legislature the sole and exclusive power of laying taxes and duties on imports, your petitioners rejoice at the prospect this affords them, that America, freed from the commercial shackles which had so long bound her, will see and pursue her own true interests, becoming independent in fact as well as in name; and they confidently hope that the encouragement and protection of the American manufactures will claim the earliest attention of the supreme Legislature of the nation, as it is an universally acknowledged truth that the United States contain, within their own limits, resources amply sufficient to enable them to become a great and prosperous manufacturing country, and only want the patronage and support of a wise and energetic government to secure the lasting prosperity of the entire Union." The people of New York pressed for the protection of the arts and commerce.

Those of Boston or Philadelphia declared in their petition, "That on the revival of our mechanical arts and manufactures depend the wealth and prosperity of the Northern States, and request that heavy duties may be levied on all such articles as are or can be manufactured by our own citizens, humbly conceiving that the impost is not only a source of revenue, but in its operation intended to exclude such importations, and ultimately establish those several branches of manufacture and industry among ourselves."

These petitions were presented to Congress in the spring of 1789, and prove that the people and their representatives were then agreed in opinion on the great importance and necessity of at once attending to the manufacturing as well as to the commercial interests of the country. Not satisfied with the Protective Tariff Act of 1789, the House of Representatives, in July, 1790, directed the secretary of the Treasury to make a report on the subject of manufactures, and particularly to the means of promoting such as will tend to render the United States independent of foreign nations in time of war, for military and other essentially necessary supplies. In obedience to this order, Mr. Hamilton made his celebrated report on the manufactures already referred to. Most of the reasons then urged by him in favour of the protecting and encouraging of the domestic manufactures, continue with unabated force to this day; and most likely, ever will, with respect to a great part of this country (America).

The Free-trade system was then urged on by the opponents against that proposed by Mr. Hamilton, and as his replies to those objections, given in this report, are applicable to the present day, I deem it prudent to make the following extract of them, viz.:—"Our infant manufactures seriously demand the protection of Government." With respect to objects for protection, Mr. Hamilton adds very justly—"Every nation ought to endeavour to possess within itself all the

essentials of a national supply; these comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence. The possession of these," he said, "is necessary to the protection of the body politic; to the safety as well as to the welfare of society; the want of either is the want of an important matter of political life and motion, and in the various crises which await a nation it must severely feel the effects of any such want or deficiency. The extreme embarrassment of the United States during the late war—(the War of Independence)—from an incapacity to supply themselves, is still a matter of keen recollection. A future war may be expected again to amplify the mischiefs and damages of a situation to which the incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely vigorous exertion. To effect this change as fast as shall be prudent merits all the attention and all the zeal of our public councils: it is the next great work to be accomplished." The effect of such protection is not only to render the United States independent of all foreign nations in the essentials of national supply, but also, by inducing domestic competition, to render them ultimately cheaper to the consumer, and of a certainty without any fear of a rise in time of war from foreign nations. This ultimate cheapening of the articles of first necessity has been since amply proved in the United States in the articles of nails, hats, and leather: latterly, in that of coarse cotton!

MR. M'CULLOCH, the free trade advocate, among some other statements, has the following:—"Each individual finds it for his own advantage to employ himself in some particular business, and to exchange a part of his peculiar produce for such parts of the produce of others as he may have occasion for." "And it is not very easy," he adds, "to see how that conduct, which is universally admitted to be wise and proper in individuals, should be foolish and absurd in the case of a State or a nation." How ample the following simple reply to this objection is will be clear to all sensible men. An individual, if he, for instance, be a shoemaker, will take only what goods or raw materials he may need or "have occasion for," and demand the balance in cash. He will not take shoes of a foreign make for his own manufacture; so also with all other manufacturers and producers: they will only take what they CANNOT make or produce themselves, and the balance must be paid in cash. If New South Wales can manufacture boots and clothing, iron and iron ware, she is acting a most unwise part in taking such manufactures from any foreign market, and this on the showing of Mr. M'Culloch's own words. But he is candid enough to say, "If it could be shown, however, that the freedom of our commerce, though beneficial to other nations, was really injurious to England, we should be the very last to propose the repeal, or even the modification of any restrictions, however great or prohibitory." Again he adds, "What should we have to fear from the abolition of all prohibitions? We export the produce of every one of our principal manufactures, as cotton, wool, iron, leather, &c., to every market of the world, so that the possibility of our being injured by the admission of similar manufactures from abroad is quite out of the question." This was the case fifty years ago, and up to a late date; but other nations have found it to their advantage to follow the example of "the nation of shopkeepers," and manufacture all they can for themselves, and I doubt not other nations will within the next fifty years be able to undersell the British even in their own market. England cannot grow her own cotton, her own wool, her own silk, nor to any great or sufficient extent her own grain, &c. Russia and America, as well as Germany, can and do grow most of them, which, together with their great masses of population and the application of machinery, will soon make it clear to England that she is after all but a very dependent island, at least as regards agricultural and pastoral produce. British statesmen have endeavoured to persuade the Americans that this manufacturing for themselves is directly opposed to their best interests. For instance, here is one paragraph from the "Dictionary of Commerce and Navigation" on this subject:—"THE EXPLODED sophisms of the mercantile system, though renounced by every statesman in Europe, have acquired a noxious influence in Congress, and have been put forward with as much confidence as if their soundness neither had been nor could be questioned. From 1816 downwards the object of the American Legislature has been to bolster up a manufacturing interest by imposing oppressive duties on most of the manufactures imported from abroad." Here again comes MR. M'CULLOCH among hordes of

other Free-trade writers to inform the Americans of the immense pecuniary sacrifice they are inflicting upon themselves in thus bolstering-up a manufacturing interest, taken from calculations well known to Americans. "Instead of the goods manufactured in the United States," he says, "being as cheap as similar goods manufactured in Great Britain, they are admittedly at an average from 30 to 100 per cent. dearer. The extent of the pecuniary sacrifice that is thus imposed on the Union has been variously estimated by able American writers; but we have been assured by those who have the best means of knowing, that it may be moderately estimated at from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 dollars, or from about £11,000,000 to £13,000,000 sterling. And this immense burden—a burden nearly three times as great as the entire public expenditure of the whole republic—is incurred for no other purpose of public utility, and is productive of nothing but mischief. The whole effect of the SCHEME is to direct a certain amount of national capital from the production of cotton, wheat, rice, and tobacco (the equivalent sent to foreigners in payment of manufactured goods that could be imported by the Americans); and as the latter species of industry is nowise suitable for America, a tax of £13,000,000 sterling is imposed on the Union that the manufacturers may continue a losing business. We shall not (he continues) undertake to decide whether the absurdity of their tariff or its costliness be its most prominent features." Now, my dear reader, we, in this end of the nineteenth century, are enabled, from the actual practical experience of nearly one hundred years of trial in the United States of America, to at once and for ever finally decide that the American system of Protection to the various industries of home produce is not only the wisest, but absolutely the only safe system calculated to lead a nation to unfailing prosperity and lasting power; and not by any means the delusive and suicidal system of Free-trade, so ably advocated by Mr. McCulloch, Adam Smith, and other political economists. If indeed, according to Mr. McCulloch and his authorities, the United States for many years past have lost 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 dollars a year by manufacturing for themselves, it is truly most strange still that during all the same years they should have been able to pay off a national debt of 120,000,000 dollars, and have expended from 90,000,000 to 100,000,000 dollars in internal improvements by means of canals and railways, not to mention the support of a great navy and army!

The village of "Lowell" alone, in December, 1833, had a capital invested in manufacturing establishments, and principally in cotton, to the amount of 6,550,000 dollars, in twenty-two mills, having 3598 looms, 97,400 spindles, employing in the cotton mills 4595 females and 1155 males, in all 5730; consuming annually 11,424,400 lbs. of cotton, and making 36,440,000 yards of cotton cloth! No place has ever increased from manufactures alone with greater rapidity, or, with the same population, has had an equal number of operatives. In 1830 its population was 6500, and in December, 1833, it was 15,000, and more than one-third of them were then employed in the cotton establishments.

The GREAT AND MUTUAL interests necessarily and naturally growing up out of this UNION OF MANUFACTURES WITH AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL INDUSTRIES are INNUMERABLE. These interests are seen and felt not merely in the vicinity of the factories, but many hundreds of miles off in the far interior, as well as all along the coast. And this reminds one of the Fisheries question. Here again the English seek to monopolise the lion's share of everything they possibly can. Their cod and whale fisheries have been of great value to the Americans, especially to the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, from their first settlement along a barren and rocky coast. It has also given employment to shipbuilders, and gave employment to above 4000 able seamen and 2800 tons shipping annually; caught fish above the value of one million dollars annually. By the third article of the Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and Great Britain, in 1783, "It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolestedly the RIGHT to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all other banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time to fish." For this favourable article in relation to the fisheries, as in the case of boundaries, the Americans were indebted to the firmness of their negotiators, and particularly to Mr. Adams, who well knew their value and importance to his countrymen. The British negotiators for a long time refused to assent to this

article, and particularly to that part relating to the fisheries, and which acknowledged the "right" of the Americans to take fish on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, and at last insisted on inserting the word "LIBERTY" instead of "RIGHT." Upon this Mr. Adams grew warm and declared to the British negotiators he would put his hand to no articles without satisfaction about the fisheries. He asked whether there was or could be a clearer right? "In former treaties," he said, "that of Utrecht, and that of Paris, France and England have claimed the right and have used the word. When God Almighty made the Banks of Newfoundland at 300 leagues from the people of America, and at 600 leagues distance from those of France and England, did he not give as good and as clear a right to the former as to the latter? If Heaven in the creation ever gave a right to man it is ours, or, at least, as much as it is yours: if occupation, use, and possession give a right, we have it as clearly as you;—if war and blood and treasure give a right, ours is, at least, as good as yours. We have certainly been fighting in Canada, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia for the defence of this fishery, and have expended, beyond all proportion, more than you: if the right cannot be denied, why should it not be at once acknowledged and put out of dispute for ever? Why should we leave it for illiterate fishermen to wrangle and chicanery over?"

The British negotiators then finally yielded this point, and agreed to the article. The enormous trade done by American fisheries is more than I can write an account of herein. In 1830, it was calculated that the following among many other articles were consumed by the whale ships of the United States—36,000 barrels of flour; 30,000 barrels of beef and pork; 18,000 bolts of canvas; 6,000,000 staves; 2,000 tons of cordage. The consumption of these articles must have increased since that period. The men, the ships, and most of those articles, as well as the men's outfits, are American produce and industry; and the American farmer, as well as the American merchant and mechanic, come in for their share of this and all our various industries!

The inhabitants of the northern section of the United States, situated many hundreds of miles along a rocky and comparatively barren coast, very early turned their attention to ship-building, commerce, and navigation. This soon roused the jealous attention of England, and Sir JOSIAH CHILD, as early as about 1670, declared that of all the American plantations, "His Majesty has none so apt for the building of ships as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries; and in my opinion there is nothing more prejudicial and in prospect more dangerous to any mother country, than the increase of shipping in her colonies and plantations and provinces." This unbrotherly jealousy, although continually manifested in various objections and obstructive ways, did not prevent the increase of shipping and navigation of the colonies (now United States).

Now, as regards the statements of Mr. McCulloch and other Free-traders, relatively to the destruction of the prosperity of the United States, by reason of the heavy protective duties they imposed on all foreign manufactured goods landing in country, I need but point to the vast increase of population since the war of Independence, irrespective of the preceding proof of their increasing vast wealth, from the industry of their population; to show how ill founded were the prognostications of those Free-traders. Here are a few sketches of the population of the Western country:—included under this name are the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, and most of those portions of Pennsylvania and Virginia which lie beyond the Alleghany mountains, this being the country where the canals are connecting the West with the Eastern sections of the United States. In 1820 the whole population of the country was only 237,084. In 1830 the number had increased to 3,264,438; and, in the present time, 1835, it must be above 5,000,000, exceeding the whole population of the United States in 1790!

If anything could strike the traveller with greater surprise, or could more interest the statesman or the political economist, than to witness the vast number and size of the various steam-vessels traversing in every direction the numerous rivers and canals which extend their widening courses for more than 8000 miles through this immense country, it would be the number and size of the

villages, towns and cities, which, as if by magic, have at once sprung up on the banks and on the shores of the lakes with which the country for so many hundreds of miles is indented! WHEELING, a town in Virginia, on the Ohio, is now a flourishing commercial as well as a manufacturing town. Its population in 1818 was only 1000; in 1830, it was 5222; and in November, 1833, it was 8000. Her manufactures in 1833 numbered 113, employing 1300 men; producing yearly by her manufactures alone 1,300,000 dollars. In 1795, the village of CINCINNATI contained only 500 inhabitants; in 1830, it was the seventh city in the Union, and in point of population numbering no less than 25,831: this population increased in three and a-half years no less than 8000. In 1835 it was 30,000. LOUISVILLE had a population in 1820 of only 4012; in 1826, it was 7,200; and in 1830, it was 10,341. St. Louis had a population of only 925 in 1830; and now (July, 1835) not less than 8000! In 1830, building sites were sold at 100 dollars per foot frontage here. The State of New York completed the longest canal in the world in the shortest time, about eight years. It is 363 miles long. The French took fourteen years to finish that of Languedoc, and it is only 148 miles long, and this, too, under the reign of the justly celebrated Louis XIV. This canal (U.S.) connects the waters of the Hudson with Lake Erie, 363 miles long! The amount of tolls on this Erie canal alone in 1830 was 1,085,602 dollars, and in 1833 was 1,290,136 dollars, which is ample proof that the internal commerce is absolutely gigantic. The actual number of boats on this canal is 2328, giving employment to above 20,000 men and boys. The effect this canal system has on the population of Albany, Utica, Rochester, and Buffalo will be perceived on comparing the number of inhabitants in these places in 1825—when the canals were only just opened; and, in 1830, only five years after they had been finished and in full operation. Thus it is clear these four counties, viz. :—

	1825.		1830.
Albany	15,971	24,209
Utica	5,040	8,323
Rochester	5,271	9,269
Buffalo	2,600	6,321
Total	28,882	48,122

gained an increase to their population in five years of no less than about 20,000. And, by the census of 1835, it is seen the population of Utica had exceeded 10,000, and that of Buffalo 12,000. In 1833 New York had 535 miles of navigable canals: cost 11,418,394 dollars; and others are being constructed, making the distance in all above 2615 miles, and their cost 63,418,394 dollars. Besides these, there are others of still more gigantic importance to the United States.

RAILWAYS.

In 1835, and soon after to be completed, were 1600 miles, cost 30,000,000 dollars. When the cost of railroads is added to that of canals, it will be found that no less than 94,000,000 dollars have been expended in this country on only two kinds of internal improvements since 1817. The eastern and the western waters being now connected, not only from the Hudson to Lake Erie, through the State of New York; but also from Delaware to Ohio, and to the same lake through Pennsylvania, this communication has tied the interests of the East and West to the immense advantage of both. May it never be broken.

In addition to this evidence of the great and growing wealth of this country, it will be remembered that the United States, during the same period, have paid off a national debt of more than 120,000,000 dollars in the short period of only eighteen years!

Let it be distinctly remembered that in 1750 the entire population of the United States was only 100,000; in 1775 it was 2,243,000, and in 1830 it had risen to 12,866,020.

WM. G. OUSELLEY ON AMERICA.

Now, dear reader, here are extracts from the pen of Wm. G. Ouselly, Esq., his remarks on the Political Institutions of the United States of America. "That

part," he says, "of the American system which, perhaps, most strikes the European observer, is its excellent financial administration, and the success that has hitherto most constantly attended all the fiscal arrangements of the Union, as well as the continued increase of its resources of revenue not accompanied, neither, by any proportionate augmentation of expenditure. Again, if we turn from the contemplation of the revenue and expenditure of Federal Government to consider the general revenue of the United States as a nation, the growing prosperity and riches of each State, of the various companies or individuals, we find generally an equally flourishing state of things. The great natural facilities of the United States of America, including an unrivalled river system, have created a rapid national wealth, and prosperous and numerous population; and has been wisely supported and upheld by a most popular form of government. The spirit that animates the institutions of the United States affords encouragement to all classes to improve each of the numerous resources that fall within their reach. The result so far exceeds the rational anticipations of even the most sanguine or impartial observers! that in seeking to account for them, we are too apt to undervalue the immense effects of a free and fully protecting institution in producing such gigantic consequences, and thus ascribe an undue share of their productions to the influence of other causes; and thus destroy in a great measure, the honourable merits due to this truly enterprising people." It must be admitted that even with all the great natural advantages above alluded to, the United States would not, under the oppressive and jealous rule of the British, have ever produced such lasting prosperity, wealth, or power—such is his conclusion. I do not know of any single British possession or colony in what may fairly be considered a healthy prosperous condition.

THE NINTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

(MELBOURNE "ARGUS," MAY 7, 1874.)

The Ninth Census of the United States of America was taken on the 1st of January, 1870; the figured results it discloses are something unparalleled and unprecedented in the annals of national progress, and are well worthy of the careful consideration of our own public men and legislators. We shall present a brief summary of the more important facts and figures.

• STATES AND TERRITORIES.

There are thirty-seven separate States, and seven Territories, in the Union. The aggregate area of these is 3,603,884 square miles.

POPULATION.

The entire population was 38,558,371 souls, which is a third more than that of the British, and something above that of France! Of the total number five and a half millions are set down as "foreign birth." The average density of the population is 10·7 to the square mile. The unmixed coloured population amounts to 4,295,960; the Chinese are 57,254, and the Indians within the Constitution, 25,731.

WEALTH.

The total wealth of this great people is estimated at 30,668,518,507 dollars; or, in round numbers £6,000,000,000 sterling. This gives an average of 780 dollars, or about £150 sterling to each person! If these figures be only approximately correct, the Americans are probably the wealthiest nation that has ever existed.

EDUCATION.

Two maps appended to the census returns exhibit the diffusion of wealth and of intelligence respectively throughout the country. The **WEALTHIEST** States are the **EASTERN** and the **NORTHERN**, whilst the Southern States show very blankly in this respect. Similarly education is much more diffused in the North than in the South.

EAST INDIA.

THE reader will please now take a peep into the East India possessions of the British. Edward Thornton, Esq., among many other things says:—The subject of Indian manufactures will demand here but a very brief notice. India is NOT LIKELY to become a great manufacturing country under existing circumstances. Labour, indeed, is very cheap, but however small the expense at which human life is maintained in India, the hands of man cannot compete with machinery in cheapness of productions. The piece-goods of India, formerly an important article of export, are now (under British rule), superseded, not only in British markets, but absolutely in her own markets also: and Manchester and Glasgow now furnish the clothing to the people of India. The fabrics produced by machinery are not indeed equal either in strength or durability to those manufactured by manual labour in India: the difference in the price ensures the British article a ready sale in every market. Some attempts have been made to establish cotton mills in India; but the most sanguine give little hope of their success under the present difficulties. The advantages possessed by the English are so very overwhelming, that the contest is too unequal, and formidable in the extreme." Observe, dear reader, India has vast wealth, and it will take England a number of years before she can reduce India to the level of Ireland. India is rich in gold and silver, and other valuable metals as well as in minerals. She has, also, her own coal and iron ore, her own cotton, wool, &c. You can now form some idea of the selfishness of the ruling power. Had India been governed as England has been, the world would be amazed at the unrivalled wealth, prosperity, power and grandeur of the first nation on earth—India. If England will not do anything to advance India, she certainly ought not to do anything calculated to depress her manufacturing industry; yet the English statute books contain provisions which have a most direct tendency to this end. The injustice which excludes her sugar from European consumption, is extended to her cotton also, and to her beautiful silk-piece goods;—the former are charged, on arrival in England, with a duty of 10 per cent. (cotton, too, that the English manufacturers would absolutely starve were they unable to obtain a supply), the latter with a still more oppressive impost of 20 per cent; yet the British manufactures enter Indian markets free of duty; and French silk manufactures enter England FREE OF DUTY. Is this just to India? Is this English Free-trade? Is not Canada served the same way, her wool, like the Australian, has to compete in the London market with foreign wool, which also lands free of duty in London? I am satisfied that this is an erroneous, as well as selfish policy, for England to pursue; and the approaching balance of NAVAL power among the great nations of the world, may cause her (England) either to lose her most valuable colonies and possessions, her superiority at sea, or the monopoly of the manufacturing industry from her own colonies and possessions, or both if not all.

Were England to act more fairly, more justly, to her colonies as well as to Ireland, by not only allowing and encouraging them to manufacture every article of necessity that could, by natural and artificial means, be produced within the limits of each respective colony or possession, and, even if necessary, endowing them with bounty-aid, so as to ensure the permanent prosperity of each country, she (England) would then have her empire built upon a rock; and no intrigues, troubles, or war from without, would ever be successful in any attempts to raise the people in arms against her. But the reverse would, most assuredly, follow, for every colony thus becoming wealthy would have cause, naturally as well as politically, to maintain the close bond of natural love and union with their mother country, and thus cemented in one entire union with England and her other possessions, an empire would thus be established that no earthly power would dream of insulting; but rather have cause to admire with the purest feelings, the vast, powerful, wealthy, sound, prosperous, and perfect organisation of the British empire. It is now (February, 1876) within the power and influence of the British government to accomplish all I have now written. Should she fail to do so, every thinking man who will only watch the press of the present time, can not fail to discover that the foreign nations are making some degree of preparations for some approaching, or it may be, imaginary

struggle; and I doubt not when it does come, it will be felt all over the civilised world.* Where, then, will be her defence of her numerous defenceless colonies, &c., without any means of providing for themselves when so suddenly left to do so? As regards India being not only excluded from equal terms with France in the sale of her silk manufactures in the London market, but the almost prohibitory duty on sugar from the East, it may fairly be said for a colony, that "if indulgence will be shown, it surely ought to be shown to the weak, and not to the strong and invincible nation. India, as other colonies of the British empire, should not be regarded in the light of a foreign country, but as an integral part of the British empire, separated only by distance, yet united by one common interest. There should be no more distinction between India and Britain, than between England and Scotland, and the subjects of divisions of the empire should have the same privileges of exerting their industry in every branch of manufacture and commerce, unrestrained by laws intended to favour one at the expense of the other. The duties on Indian piece goods should, therefore, be repealed at once as an act of justice, and our British manufactures are too firmly established to fear anything from such a measure." The external trade of India is, as may be expected, poor; and in addition to the above named and indicated destruction of her manufacturing industry, India pays annually a heavy tribute to England. Free-trade first opened with India in 1814, and notwithstanding the cheapness of labour in India, and the superiority of the native manufactures in cottons, gold, silver, and various and numerous other articles of daily use and consumption, the English absolutely forced the markets of India, and exported thither 817,000 yards of cotton goods; and they have continued this to the present day, increasing their exports to the destruction of the Indian manufacturing prosperity and consequent impoverishment of the working classes, who, in all nations, must be the first to feel the sad consequences of bad legislation like this, and it only depends on the wealth of the nation to determine the hour when all classes must witness and feel the decline and final fall of their country under FREE-TRADE.

In 1866 England exported to India cotton fabrics to the number of 544,699,474 yards, and 19,849,406 lbs. of twist and yarn, hosiery, lace, and small wares, the aggregate value of the whole being £12,773,392 sterling. And daily shipments of various other articles of English manufacture are exported thither free of any duty on landing. Nevertheless, England imposed a duty of 8s. per cent. over and above the duty charged on West India sugar; and the latter, that is to say, the duty on West India sugar, being too high, absolutely ruined the planters. Taking the price of sugar at the rate of only £20 per ton, the prime cost of the article of 1,846,000 tons, to the people of Europe, the United States, and all other importing nations will be £36,920,000 sterling; to which add 50 per cent. for duty, its cost will be 55,380,000 sterling. In 1856 there were 134,623 cwt.; in 1857 it was 5225 cwt.; 1858, 17,530 cwt; and in the year ended March 31st, 1868, it was 356,088 cwt. of sugar consumed in English distilleries, breweries, &c., paying an excise duty of 3s. 6d. per cwt. This is surely sufficient to prove the paramount importance of the trade in this article alone of daily use and import!

Besides this article of sugar, there are other products of the cane, such as rum, molasses, treacle, &c., which are of very great value. The gross revenue derived by the British Treasury from rum alone amounted, in the year ended March 31st, 1868, to £2,137,535 sterling. IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE, the duty on sugar was 3s. 5d. per cwt. Small additions were made to it in the reign of George II. but in 1780 it was raised to 6s. 8d. per cwt. In 1781 a considerable addition was made to this duty; and in 1787 it was as high as 12s. 4d. per cwt. In 1791 it was raised to 15s. per cwt.; and while its extensive and increasing consumption pointed it out as an article well fitted to augment the public treasury, the pressure on the public finances caused by the French war occasioned its being loaded with duties which yielded a large return to the revenue. In 1797 the duty was raised to 17s. 6d.; two years after, 1799, it was raised to 20s. per cwt.; and by successive augmentations in 1803-4-6, it was raised to 30s. per cwt. Subsequently the Lords of the Treasury were induced to reduce this duty 1s. per cwt., should the market value fall below 49s. per cwt., and 2s. per cwt. if it fell below 48s. per cwt.; but

* The Bulgarian atrocities had not occurred when I wrote this page.

not to be reduced more than 3s. per cwt. In 1826 the duty on West India sugar was declared to be constant at 27s. per cwt., without any regard to the current price. In 1814 the duty on sugar, including that used in distilleries, &c., was £1 10s. 11d. and £1 17s. per cwt.—M'CULLOCH.

Here is a duty of not less than 50 per cent. on the produce of the colonies landing in England. Who will say that this is not extracting the very life-blood of a colony? It only now remains to bring the tenant laws of Ireland to bear on India to give her decline the finishing blow. The duty on foreign sugar previous to 1845 was 63s. per cwt.; and I consider the subsequent reduction of the foreign to the level of the colonial sugar duties another wrong inflicted on the subjects in British possessions.

RUSSIA.

Russia has embraced the Protective system of government, and has in various ways encouraged and patronised the domestic manufacturing industries of her people. Well, with this great Russian Empire on the borders of India manufacturing every essential article, not only of individual, but of national necessity, I am inclined to believe England may either lose her East India trade, or both her trade and her East India possessions also. One thing is clearly certain, the present state of things in the British possessions cannot last for ever: and, using the words of an English writer on German manufacturing industry—the next gust of war may ruin her trade for ever, at least as regards that with the East Indies. And she (England) really cannot expect the Australian colonies will, much longer, continue their blind infatuation with respect to Free-trade.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE was founded by the Dutch in 1650, and remained so till taken by the British in 1795. In 1842 the population was only 22,543; and of these above one-third were blacks. Fourteen years later, 1856, they barely reached 26,000, blacks included. In 1866 the discovery of precious metals and minerals brought it to 131,592, and blacks 314,789. Free-trade is ruling here also: and what is the consequence? It does not prosper! Notwithstanding its beautiful climate, its superior commercial position, its agricultural, pastoral and mineral lands, &c., the population does not appear to have increased in any respect whatever till 1866: during a period of above 216 years, viz., from 1650 to 1866. And this population being of a migratory disposition will, doubtless, not find any encouragement to settle there under the Free-trade system.

Even a large population without manufactures, cannot prosper; with manufactures, but without agricultural and pastoral resources for the supply of the raw material, a nation may prosper for a time; and this time only on sufferance of every superior naval power.

HOLLAND.

HOLLAND, once the greatest naval power on earth, and the most wealthy: the land of chivalry of the middle classes. Here they (the middle classes) may say in honest pride to the hereditary lords and nobles of the earth in other countries of Europe, "See what we grocers, fishers, and shipowners have done in days of yore in this little country!" The herring fisheries of Holland, her only article of productive industry, have usually been represented as the branch of productive industry from which her great wealth was principally drawn! It is said that Amsterdam is founded on herring bones. In every country the home market is the great and steady basis of its manufacturing prosperity. Commerce alone, if it be not founded on a home consumption, if it be a merely carrying trade between distant foreign producers and distant foreign consumers, has proved itself—as in the case of Holland, the Hanse Towns, Geneva, and Venice—to be unstable, evanescent, and unattended by any well-being or permanent improvement of the condition of the mass of the people. The world has witnessed the rise, decline, and fall of commercial greatness in Venice, Geneva, Florence, the Hanse Towns, and in Holland: the military greatness, decline, and fall of Rome, Greece, Sweden, France and the East; but the world has yet to learn whether productive

and reproductive greatness—I mean that greatness which is founded upon the manufacturing industry of a people in all the useful necessary arts, &c., such as we find in the United States of America—be equally fleeting. I guess not.

Manufacturing greatness seems to rest upon principles of a more stable nature. It is, as it were, bound to the soil, and tied to the locality by natural circumstances. The useful ores, metals, coals, iron, copper, tin, gold, silver, &c.; fire-power, water-power, steam-power, harbours, rivers, canals, easy transit by sea and by land, favourable climate for out-door employment in winter as well as in summer, are great advantages peculiar only to some countries and localities of the earth, and cannot be forced by capital. Markets may be forced (which is well known to the English merchants) and established almost anywhere, but certainly not factories. Holland, founded upon commerce alone, and unsupported by a basis of productive industry within herself and among the mass of her own people, fell to the level from which she so nobly rose. Alas! this kind of glory is faded. In the deserted streets of Delft, Leyden, Haarlem, &c., the grass is growing in and up through the seams of the brick pavements; the ragged petticoat flutters in the wind out of the once magnificent drawing-room casement of a palace. The echo of wooden shoes clattering through empty saloons tells of past magnificence, of present actual indigence. Why, may I not ask our Free-trade theorists, is the Holland of our time no longer that old, grand, flourishing Holland of the 16th and 17th centuries? Why are her streets silent now? her canals green with undisturbed slime? For, bear in mind, hers was most truly a perfectly Free-trade nation. The only reply is written above—Holland was not a manufacturing nor an agricultural country, but merely a sea carrier between foreign nations.

In 1869 the rates of wages in Holland, Amsterdam, were—for carpenters, masons, painters, plumbers, and others about 2s. per day of nine hours in the summer, and 1s. 6d. per day of seven hours in the winter, and little or no employment at those rates.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH states:—"Amsterdam is never without 700,000 quarters of corn in her stores, and none of it the growth of Holland. A dearth of only one year in other parts of Europe enriches Holland for seven years! In the course of only one year and a-half, during a scarcity in England, there were carried away from the ports of Southampton, Bristol, and Exeter alone nearly £200,000; and if London and the rest of England be added, there must have been at least £2,000,000 sterling more left England for corn brought in 'Dutch bottoms.'" Between 1657 and 1672, when the territories of the republic were invaded by the French, the commerce of Holland seems to have been at its height. Dr. De Witten estimates its increase from the treaty with Spain, concluded at Munster 1643 to 1669, twenty-six years, at fully half. He adds that during the war with Holland Spain lost the greater part of her naval power; that since the following peace the Dutch had obtained most of the trade of that country, which had been previously carried on by the Hanseatic merchants and the English; that almost all the coasting trade of Spain was carried on by Dutch vessels; that Spain had even been forced to hire Dutch ships to sail to her American possessions; and that, so great was the exportation of goods from Holland to Spain, that all the merchandise brought from the Spanish West India Islands was not sufficient to make returns for them. At this period, indeed, the Dutch engrossed—not by means of manufactures, agriculture, or pastoral, or any other similar monopoly, but by the greater number of their ships, and their greater skill and economy in all that regarded navigation—almost the whole entire carrying trade of Europe! The value of goods exported from France in Dutch ships towards the middle of the fourteenth century exceeded 40,000,000 livres! and the commerce of England with the Low Countries was, for a long time, almost entirely carried on in them. It may, therefore, be reasonably and fairly concluded that during the 17th century the foreign commerce and navigation of Holland was greater than that of all Europe besides; and yet the country that was the seat of all this vast commerce had not any native produce to export, nor a piece of timber fit for ship-building purposes. All had been the fruit of the industry of the people of Holland, her economy, and a fortunate combination of circumstances. Holland owed this vast commerce to a variety of fortunate causes: partly to her peculiar situation, the industry and frugality of her inhabi-

tants, and partly to the wars and disturbances that prevailed in most parts of Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries, and prevented them from emulating the successful career of the Dutch. But as before stated, the greatness of the Dutch having no naturally sound or permanent foundation within the limits of their own territory (Holland), were doomed to fall. She has no land fit for agricultural or pastoral purposes; no coal, wood, iron, tin, copper, gold or silver, cotton, wool, hides, tallow, flax, or hemp to call her own, or that could not be depreciated in value in either times of peace or war, such as are in America and Australia. Consequently, as soon as the other nations of Europe were at peace, and enabled to attend to the agricultural and manufacturing industries, commerce, and navigation, they no longer needed the foreign supplies nor the foreign carrier. Holland and Belgium were at one time united states. I do not know how those states did not foresee the inconsistency of this unfortunate union and its results. Belgium had not any navy; she was not a maritime power, but a first-class manufacturing state, Holland having the entire command of the seas in her own power, and thus the commerce of the world at her command. But Holland's best interest was believed to be perfectly free trade, while protection of the purest jealousy was known to be the life and soul of Belgium's existence. Nevertheless these nations thought it would prove a mutual advantage to unite their interests; but the union was of short duration, from various causes.

BELGIUM.

BELGIUM is densely populated, and in everything that is the offspring of manual labour brought to bear upon nature's produce their manufactures are successful. But so soon as they are either obliged to bring their raw materials from abroad, or to come into contact and compete with foreign manufactures in foreign markets with the machinery of more advanced countries, then their advantages suddenly disappear. These are iron work in general, cutlery, ordnance, machinery, and hardware. In these they excel, as well as in the production of lace and linen yarn, in distilleries and brewing, &c. But their coal lies deeper than in England, also their iron, and this increases their expense. They have not any copper, which is of vital importance in machinery. Nor have they any cotton, wool, &c. Here is a little state that, were it not for its persevering industry and unsurpassed frugality, would long since have disappeared. They cannot under such abovenamed and indicated reverse and adverse circumstances withstand their most formidable rivals, the English. Louvain, 400 years ago, was a place of wealth and importance, the capital of the old Duchy of Brabant, and the residence of the sovereign. Justus Lipsius, a citizen of Louvain, and born in its suburbs, records that, in 1360, there were within its fortified walls from 3000 to 4000 clothworkers, giving employment to 150,000 artisans; that the great bell of St. Peter's was regularly sounded to warn all the parents to keep their children within doors lest they should be crushed and trampled to death by the vast crowds of workpeople who were passing from and to their workshops at meal hours (noon and evening). The enormous buildings and innumerable chimneys of the great ironworks of Seraing are certainly one of the wonders of Belgium, and Europe, in point of extent, possesses nothing to compare with them. Nor can the mind of man regard this vast temple to the genius of Fulton and Watt without emotions of amazement at the lightning speed with which their discoveries have revolutionised the whole aspect of European industry, and created wants and expedients, and supplied other wants which half a century ago were unknown and unfelt, but the possession of which at the present day has forced into existence such a gigantic establishment as Seraing. Compared with the largest manufactories in England Seraing is as a mountain to an anthill. The quantity of actual creative power which it engenders and pours forth year after year is, perhaps, greater than that of a whole generation of artisans in the best days of Flemish manual labour prosperity; and a river of ordinary current flowing through a country of manufactures, scarcely gives a greater impetus to the production of all the necessities or all the comforts of life than does the steam-engines of Seraing in a single year! The circuit of its own walls encompasses everything essential to the final completion of the most ponderous and most elegant engine. Two coal mines are worked within them. The iron ore is raised on the spot; washed, smelted, and cast on the spot. Canals and railroads, all

within its own walls, convey those materials from process to process, from furnace to forge, till the crude mineral, which issued from its mother earth in its ore, is carried from the warehouse in a form all but intelligent machines! Seraing was many years coming to this gigantic proportion and perfection. It was commenced in 1819 by the sons of an ingenious individual, Verviers, an impoverished mechanic, by the impulse of whose single mind the march of manufacturing improvement and prosperity in Belgium has advanced by at least half a century. In 1819 they first raised their own coal, and in 1824 they were enabled, by Protective laws, to work the iron, the produce of their own mines and furnaces. The beneficial and wise encouragement thus given to every species of manufacture requiring machinery or other assistance, was a source of long-continued prosperity to Seraing and the Belgians generally. This establishment gives constant employment to upwards of 2000 workmen in all the various branches of its comprehensive system. Its productions comprehend all the whole range of English machinery for every department of industry, and its produce is exported to every manufacturing country to which it may have access—to Russia, Germany, Prussia, Spain, Italy, France, and South America. The rooms and vast walls of this gigantic structure present an ample appearance to quite startle any stranger who may not be prepared for such a sight of unusual magnitude, of a chamber fitted up with 500 vices along the sides, and all alive with the rush of revolving wheels, and the din of machinery of every imaginable description in erection in the centre! The workmen are all natives of Belgium; not a single one from England, Ireland, or elsewhere, being employed here. There are sometimes 2800 men employed here. It is dependent on England for copper and brass, there not being any in Belgium. In Verviers, 20,000 men are employed with their machinery, manufacturing woollens; the grand staples are woollens in all their varieties of worsted and cloth. Belgium in her woollen manufactures also is dependent on other nations for her supplies of the raw materials which she uses. She has not in all her possessions 1,000,000 sheep, and therefore she has to import wool to the value of 15,000,000 francs yearly. In 1831 its exports of woollen manufactures amounted to 27,000,000 francs!

A NATION WITHOUT HOME RESOURCES FOR SUPPLY AND DEMAND—THAT IS, A NATION THAT DEPENDS UPON FOREIGN SUPPLIES OF RAW MATERIALS FOR HER MANUFACTURING POPULATION; ON A FOREIGN MARKET OR MARKETS FOR THE CONSUMPTION OF HER PRODUCTS, LIVES ONLY ON SUFFERANCE. What would, for instance, be the condition of the working classes of cotton of Prussia, Saxony, Belgium, and Switzerland, in the event of a war between England and the United States? or England and France? or England and Prussia? Their supplies of the raw material would be suddenly stopped by the blockade of the ports from which those supplies were wont to come, or by which they were to enter, or it may be both. The mass of the manufacturing population would at once be thrown out of employment, without a refuge at home or abroad from utter destitution. And those countries could not prevent it, and have no right to complain. Alas! the first gust of war would or may sweep the whole fabric from the face of the earth. Oh, happy New South Wales! to be in the full possession within the limits of your own territory of all the most essential natural resources that nature in her unsurpassed bounty and benevolence could heap upon a nation, to render you not only independent of all other nations, but also prosperous, powerful, and if you will, invincible, in every respect of the statement!

The West India Islands afford some proof of what Australia may expect from England if she rely on her Free-trade system of legislation. England will never advise her colonies to manufacture for themselves; to build their own ships and establish an independent Australian navy that may not be second to any maritime power on earth. And yet I am satisfied it will yet prove to be so, and it may be the wisest policy for England to advise it at once. That it would be the wisest policy for Australians to adopt there cannot be a doubt. If England will continue to persist in inundating her possessions, especially her young colonies, with her manufactures, &c., thereby bleeding them of every available pound, and by her example inducing the colonists to import from all nations the commodities that could be produced on the spot, she (England) may yet find out when too late that she had better been more liberal; that she had very injudiciously and imprudently impoverished her dependencies to such an extent that in time of need—of war—

they would be too poor to defend themselves, too poor to build a navy, and she, having so many similar natural demands upon her for protection, would be absolutely unable—even if willing, which I very much doubt—to afford the necessary naval and military protection; hence naturally expected of her, but in vain. Then will come the time of trial for the colonies. And I cannot see how Australia, especially New South Wales, could defend herself against an invading army. Certainly our harbour fortifications will not suffice, while Botany Heads and Port Stephens, and other adjacent harbours, are open to an enemy. We want nothing more nor less than an "Australian Federal Navy."

The WEST INDIA ISLANDS, so cruelly ill treated, would, if more liberally treated by England, have continued to be most valuable acquisitions of wealth. But slave labour has been abolished there; and at the same time the products of those Islands are unjustly pitted against the products of slave labour in the markets of Great Britain. West India SUGAR is NOT PROTECTED from the competition of Cuban and other SLAVE COUNTRIES' PRODUCTIONS that are exported to England. Hence the West India planter had found it was impossible to live out of the proceeds of his plantations. This blow has smitten at once and it may be for ever destroyed everywhere the whole of the British West India interests. Plantations are abandoned to the jaguars and other wild animals; mills and machinery are silent and decaying; the roads are being entirely obliterated by the rank growth of the jungle; dykes that fenced large and fertile districts against the sea, are now left to ruin. The white population are everywhere ruined, if not disaffected. The blacks are forsaking the chapels and schools, shunning the face of the white man; neglecting marriage, and casting off not only Christianity, but the decencies of civilised life; and are fast relapsing into their original barbarism. A tropical climate and teeming soil, nourishes their indolence, inflames their sensuality, diminishes their wants, and easily supplies them. Those who may be inclined to doubt these statements of the present wretched condition of the West Indies, are implored to peruse "LORD STANLEY'S FURTHER FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE WEST INDIES." A more demonstrative, and at the same time a more melancholy exposure of cruel mismanagement was never wrote by man.

"INCREASE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, A SIGN OF PROSPERITY."

You will be told by Free-traders, and those who, like them, labour under the flattering illusion, that the increase of imports and exports is a sure sign or index of national prosperity. In New South Wales generally, these false theories are usually received as positive facts. They are, nevertheless, entirely inconsistent with reason and experience. My dear reader, we have seen how much more important home production is than foreign production. Yet the superseding of "home production" by "foreign production" is a process which increases imports and exports also. When we buy from abroad to the value of three or four millions a year, boots and clothing which used to be made here, and annually export to pay for those boots and clothing four millions worth of our gold, copper, tin, wool, hides, tallow, skins, &c., which our own population could consume here in manufacturing the articles we import, we increase the annual imports four millions a year, and we also increase the annual exports to the same amount; or we pay in gold! But our boots and clothes manufacturers have lost by this process, four millions a year sterling money. And their expenditure in wages to the workmen, supplies to their families, rents to landlords, fees for the transfer of land, to architects for new buildings, to clergymen, school teachers, charitable institutions, and in this way throughout the entire network of society—is gone! gone for ever!! gone to a FOREIGN LAND; there to be sent out amongst every class of society through the manufacturing establishments. The annual products of the industry of every class of the people of the country is diminished by these four millions sterling every year. And there is NO compensation for all this loss and misery amongst the general population. Thus, a real blight to the national industry, a real loss to the entire nation may be shown in itself, not only in increased imports, but in increased exports also. So on the other hand, suppose Ireland, assuming she could, instead of importing flax from abroad, should henceforth grow an adequate supply of flax at home. This would wonderfully relieve her distress. But flax would no longer appear on her list of imports; nor would the articles of

manufacture or agriculture, or other industrial products she gave to pay for it, any longer be amongst her exports; they or their value would go to feed and clothe the Irish themselves, now idle and half starving and in rags. Here would be an example of improvement, indicated by a large decrease both of exports and imports. Free-traders and the superficial observer are too readily disposed to point to our imports and exports, and say "your country must be in a prosperous condition, because these are increasing;" and the customs duties they further point out, and say "your revenue has also increased." But these are merely the consequent results of the abovenamed and indicated erroneous system of importing what can be produced on the spot by our own industry. The most prosperous of all nations for the last fifty years, has been the United States of America, yet the exports and imports of the Union—notwithstanding its vast and unequalled increase in population, wealth and power—are not very much greater than they were forty years ago. It is the unregistered home and internal productions and trade, doubling and quadrupling over and over again, that has created this unexampled prosperity. The annals of the history of British prosperity, wealth and power, do not point out Free-trade as the source from which England has mostly derived her vast wealth; no! no! but to a combination of fortunate circumstances, which are in detail, too numerous and voluminous to be introduced herein; but to the principal of which, I most confidently invite the reader: and will be found in P. Colquhoun's works on the "Wealth of Nations." This celebrated political writer states: "The money which has been borrowed by the State (England)—except what has been expended in foreign States for the army in time of war—was paid to contractors, shipowners and others, for the transport of troops; to manufacturers, agriculturalists and others, who provided clothing, accoutrements, horses, provisions, and other necessary articles to carry on the war in an enemy's country, which, together with the money paid to the navy and army in this country (England) did not impoverish the national resources; it was expended in England."

THE PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES OF INDIA (1800),

and a few from China sold in England, realised in sale £140,000,000, or more than £8,000,000 a year. The general distribution and circulation arising out of this vast trade may be stated thus: to have been, in the purchase of the produce and manufactures of England, £29,200,000; in the employment of British shipping, £25,000,000; in the payment of bills of exchange, £24,500,000; in the purchase of bullion, the importing of which may be supposed to have been in payment of British manufactures and other produce of English capital and labour, £9,400,000; in disbursements for home charges, £11,000,000; in dividends to proprietors of capital and stock and interest, £12,500,000; total £141,000,000!! Further, it has appeared that the duties on imports amounted to £39,300,000, and our exports to £600,000; the total being £39,900,000.

The combination of these several sums, producing £185,900,000, shows that on the average of the last seventeen years, £10,900,000 a year, has been diffused in various channels through the English nation. By this its manufactures have been supported, encouraged, and prospered; the shipping has been increased, its revenue augmented, its commerce extended, its agriculture promoted, and its power and resources invigorated and upheld." Let it be borne in mind the above is only the East Indian trade, with a little from China! The West India Islands are also most valuable British possessions. During the period of war with the French, when Napoleon Bonaparte obstructed the commerce of the British by his Continental System, the English, nevertheless, imported and exported as follows for the year ending January 5, 1813:—Exports, £73,725,602; imported, £60,424,876; shipping employed, 28,061; tonnage, 3,160,273; (engaged in commerce), men employed, 184,352, not including the coasting trade.

The various manufactures are estimated to produce from labour alone, after deducting the raw materials, £114,230,000 yearly (1812). And by far the greater part of this produce is consumed by the home market. Not less than three-fourths. I should very much like to learn what English Free-trade had to do with all or any of this vast increase of wealth? I am fully aware that England induced India as she did Ireland, to adopt a Free-trade system, i.e., to allow English manufactures to land and glut India free of duty, to the utter destruction of Indian manufactures

and the impoverishment of the mass of the people; hence the very low rates of wages for labour. What has England to be afraid of from Free-trade with India? But let India once get a fair start again, and with all the modern steam power machinery to help her hordes of population, and England well knows she could not then undersell India in any market in the world, and surely not in her (India) own. But England will take care this event does not follow, if she can help it. It is not the free entry of goods into England that has enriched her, as is manifest from the above; it is her vast commerce and capital, her navigation; the "carrying" trade almost exclusively, has been the great source of English wealth. This is surely clearly seen from the wealth of the Dutch, who rose to be the first naval power on earth, wholly, entirely, and exclusively, from their sea carrying capacity. In reality there is not any Free-trade to England. What country on earth can manufacture hardware cheaper than the English? Not one. Sweden cannot. But England imports Swedish iron. This New South Wales would not need to do, as there is an abundant supply of the finest iron-ore in the world, at Fitzroy, only 75 miles from Sydney, where also is an equal supply of coal, and not far off of limestone. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the first of English Free-trade bubble. This was only an act of justice to the working classes, as it gave them bread to eat at a cheaper rate. But with all this Free-trade, I should like to learn WHAT NATION EXPORTED MANUFACTURES TO ENGLAND FREE OF DUTY THAT THE ENGLISH COULD THEMSELVES MANUFACTURE? Even under the reciprocity laws with France, the French cannot make much of their bargain, beyond their silk, and wines, and gloves trade. Nevertheless, I am satisfied the English people lose by this Free-trade exchange with France. Again, though India accepts English merchandise free of duty, England does NOT accept the produce of India on the same terms. No, no, but the reverse is the case. England has ever done and does now impose a heavy duty on Indian produce, especially sugar, cotton, &c. Is this that Free-trade the Australians desire to cherish? If England refuse to allow Indian sugar to land freely, surely she would not take her cotton manufactures freely, even though they were better and cheaper than the home made. As this state of matters cannot be denied, it is equally clear that in reality there is not anything like a Free-trade system in its full integrity maintained in England. To say the least of it, it is a blind theory, a flattering illusion, and dangerous to the extreme in practice for most nations, but most assuredly absolute ruin for colonies like the Australian. Not one of all the British possessions—and they are strewn all over the world in every degree of climate, from the frozen countries of North America, to the same degrees of the South; and from the rising of the sun in the East Indies to the setting in the West Indies, into and throughout all does the British flag float triumphantly, and, I must say, I am proud of this:—but, alas! not one of all these numerous and truly valuable colonies are really prospering as they actually and justly ought. And this baneful state of depression and mismanagement is not hidden from, but absolutely made known to the British people by travellers and writers of the first distinction. Nevertheless, the same slow-and-go-easy and let-alone system still continues; with the exception of an occasional rebellion, and costly recourse to arms follows, and immediately a cry is raised, "What is the use of colonies?"

BRITISH AMERICA.

Can there be any greater glaring proof of the existence, in the British mode of colonising, of some great error, than the visible difference between the United States of America and the British possessions in America? They are the same age; and as regards fisheries (one of the main sources of the great wealth of Holland), the British have the best, and most numerous, and close at hand in many instances; with better soil, &c.; and the area of the British American territories is far greater, and, at least, equally as good as the United States. Nevertheless, the population of the United States is absolutely above ten times greater than that of all British America. And as regards wealth, power, commerce, navigation, manufactures, and the arts and sciences of civilisation generally, there is really no comparison. The British possessions are, comparatively, absolutely in perfect infancy; and the world has witnessed the huge power, wealth, commerce, navigation, and unsurpassed progressive prosperity of the United States. It must be clear to the mind of all impartial thinking men that England does not appear to

be willing to push her colonies ahead, nor does she appear willing to advise them and even assist them. But more is lost in vain efforts to subdue that inward feeling of oppressive law, than would suffice at other times to establish the native population in profitable reproductive labour, to the mutual benefit and welfare of the ruled and the rulers. No nation on earth had ever adopted the theory and practice of Protection to the same extent as England; with all the puff of an unlimited free and unrestrained commerce. Such statements are not in unison with the well-known facts in relation to not only English commerce and navigation, but also in relation to her manufactures, and her fisheries. Have not English statesmen declared and enacted laws prohibiting manufactures in her colonies? Prohibiting the shipping of her colonies engaging in any commerce that in any way tended to reduce the commerce and profits of British merchants and ship-owners? Did not Sir Josiah Child declare it was not only dangerous to the mother State, but absolutely unjust to her, that her colonies had commenced shipbuilding and manufacturing for themselves?—fearing the colonies may rise to a state of prosperity and independence? Did not another English statesman protest against the colonies being allowed to manufacture so much even as a “nail” for themselves? Was there not exultation amongst English legislators when they heard the American manufacturers could not withstand the competition of the English at the period of peace immediately following the war with that country? Did not one of the Lords declare it was worth while to suffer loss on the first shipments of English produce to America, in order to crush in the bud all attempts, in the United States, to establish manufacturing industries that so suddenly sprung into, but never should be allowed, an existence? Who will say the English statutes do not contain enactments thoroughly Protective as regards the colonial commerce of her Empire? And who will say the British are managing any single colony under the British flag in a wise or prudent manner? There is not any nation on earth enjoying so extensive and lucrative a foreign trade as England; but it is at the suicidal expense of her possessions. Time will reduce the most wealthy to a state similar to the West Indies, Turkey, and Ireland; for centuries the Protective policy has been triumphant and unquestioned: for centuries English foreign trade has been steadily augmented. The strictest Protection in the world has, unquestionably, coincided with the greatest foreign and home trade in the world: that of the British Empire, and that of the United States of America for instance. It is proved by positive facts, that domestic activity, industry, and prosperity, fostered by the Protective system, are the surest basis of a permanent, extensive, and mutual foreign trade; for, in the first place, with Protection and a certain home market have arisen the means of purchase. Under a strict and jealous system of Protection we have seen the rise of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Merthyr, Leeds, Glasgow, Huddersfield, Bradford, Nottingham, Coventry, Leicester, &c. England could not, at a period of her manufacturing career, i.e., before the introduction of steam power, coal, iron, &c., compete with the continental manufacturers, as she is not possessed of the varied climates or raw materials to enable her to do so successfully—in the face of a greater population and cheaper labour; and what England would have become without her wise system of protection from foreign manufactures, we know not. She most likely would be as Ireland now is, without protection from English manufactures. But it is certain that with protection the means of purchase have been created and multiplied in a degree marvellous, and transcending all anticipation. Had the manufacturing greatness and prosperity of England been a matter of ancient history, looking at its diminutive size on the map of the world, few would believe it; it would be deemed incredible and fabulous. Dear reader, you have seen with what anxious care and determined resolution the British Parliament passed laws for the protection and encouragement and support of the various manufacturing industries of the English people, during centuries gone by. I will now point out what they did for the better securing the monopoly of the commerce, navigation, and markets of the world.

THE NAVIGATION LAWS.

OLIVER CROMWELL and the Long Parliament devised the Navigation Laws, and absolutely founded the wealth and power of the British Empire. From

this period the maritime greatness of England dates. From that hour it steadily and uninterruptedly advanced for more than one hundred and fifty (150) years, till, at the close of the last war, England's meteor flag floated in every clime, and rode on every sea, undisputed and universal victor. This splendid success did not flow from the "FREE-TRADE" policy: but from a wise and highly prudent law system. These great and original legislators of the day proposed to themselves, as a national object, the increase of British shipping. They saw that sailors and ships were not only the best army and omnipresent artillery, but also the cheapest and most profitable carriers of the British Islands. Their sagacity prefigured at once the safest and cheapest defence, and the most irresistible means of aggression and aggrandisement. They concluded that the high seas might be made to compensate England for the narrow limits of her cultivable lands—might be made to yield wealth as great, sons as warlike and hardy, and power much greater. Hence they did not hesitate at once to realise their grand conceptions in direct and stringent legislation.

They confined the whole coasting-trade, and the whole trade with the British colonies and plantations, to British subjects. They secured the importation of most articles, the produce of Asia, Africa and America, to British ships. And foreseeing that this wholesome provision might be evaded by a previous importation into other parts of Europe in foreign bottoms, they prohibited the importation of Asiatic, African, and American produce FROM EUROPE, not only in foreign but even in British ships. In short, they adopted the most effectual measures that British ships should supply the British markets, and British-colonial markets also! Further, having given the British shipowner these advantages, they took care they should not be a merely private protection, but truly national. Therefore, they obliged the shipowner to use a British-built ship. They would not allow him to navigate with an underpaid foreign crew, but secured the maritime employment of their countrymen by insisting that the owners, masters, and, at least, three-fourths of the crew should be British subjects, and of whom they took care to insure a never-failing supply by the system of compulsory apprenticeship.

This is what the Australians want, "their own navy" to encourage ship-building and find employment for those unhappy "Vernonites" and street-Arabs. No matter how suddenly a war may break out, while the raw maritime levies of other nations were helpless and sea-sick, our thousands and tens of thousands of skilful, well-fed, lion-hearted British seamen of all ages were thus even in profound peace, and without the least expense or danger to liberty, kept ready for the defence of the empire! Hear what the apostle of "Free-trade," Adam Smith, himself, says of this Protective code so adverse to modern theory. After remarking that some of its regulations may have proceeded from national animosity, he adds, "They are as wise, however, as if they had all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom." And again, "As defence is of much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation is, perhaps, the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England." To those measures, and not to any Free-trade system, the English owe their great wealth, power, commerce and prosperity!

"DO NOT TAX CONSUMERS FOR THE BENEFIT OF PRODUCERS."

Free-traders are in the habit of advancing the theory that a "Nation should not be taxed for the benefit of a producing class." A nation, whether it consumes its own products, or with them purchase from abroad, can have no more value than it produces. The supreme policy of every nation, therefore, is to develop the producing forces of its own country. What are they? The working men, the land, the mines, the machinery, the fire and the water power, and steam power, &c. The more a nation produces the richer it will be: it is self-evident, without production of value you can neither consume nor buy. So reasoned Cromwell, Lord Chatham, Sir Robert Walpole, Edmund Burke, Peter the Great (of Russia), Colbert, Napoleon; so at this day reason France, Belgium, Russia, Germany, America.

YOU ARE ADVISED NOT TO TAX THE MANY FOR THE FEW.

A nation surely ought not to complain of being taxed by those who give it first money to pay that tax, and then fifty times as much more for the nation itself.

Dr. Colquhoun, LL.D., estimates the productive labourers by whose exertions a new property is created every year as follows:—Families engaged in agriculture, mines, &c., 1,302,151, income per year, £107,246,795; in foreign commerce, shipping, trade, manufactures, fisheries, &c., fine arts, 1,506,774 families, income per year, £183,908,352; total productive labourers and their families, 2,808,925; whose total created new property amounts per year to £291,155,147. These labourers support, feed, and clothe 3,870,670 of unproductive persons, including the royal family, and all the navy, army, civil service,—all down to and including even the paupers. The royal family, nobility and gentry, receive from this new property £58,000,000; the army and navy, half-pay officers and pensioners, £34,000,000; to the clergy, lawyers, doctors, students, schools, paupers, £34,000,000. Thus there are 3,870,670 unproductive persons who receive £126,000,000 annually. To the PRODUCTIVE families must be added above 9,000,000 of assistant producers, in all about 13,226,131." So much for the producing class.

"And," he adds, "to no subject connected with the vital interests of a country can the attention of a government be so beneficially employed as in giving encouragement to every practical measure calculated to lead either directly or collaterally to the full employment of the public. To effect this a part, and even a considerable part, of the public revenue could not, for a limited period, be more beneficially employed, while, as the labour expended will leave, or ought, under a proper direction, to leave its full value behind on the land, no loss could arise to the State."

What, now, becomes of the statement that "the nation ought not to be taxed for the benefit of the producing class"? What would a nation be without a producing class? By far worse off than Ireland ever was; even Holland would be considered possessed of great wealth, as she is now in comparison to what England would fall to but for her producing class. Again, not only is every manufacturer a consumer, but there is not one consumer who is not either a producer, or else living entirely out of the income of a producer, standing or falling as the producers either stand or fall in the markets of the world. Labourers, farmers, manufacturers, stock-breeders, are all clearly producers. The landlords derive all their rent from the producers, so, of course, do the mortgagees to whom the landlords pay interest. The professional man is ultimately paid by the producers; so also, are the fundholders, the brokers, and the public servants. Find, if you can, a living man who is not either a producer, or maintained by a producer? Whatever, therefore, furthers the interest of the producers, not only benefits them, but also augments the national fund, from which every consumer derives his income; and, on the other hand, whatever ruins or injures the producers, ruins or injures the national fund on which all consumers depend for their existence. A nation is like a hive of bees: kill the labourers and the whole hive will perish.

A WEEK'S WORK IN BIRMINGHAM.

Here is an account of the work done in a week by the manufacturing class of producers of new property in Birmingham. A week's work comprises the manufacture of 800 tons of brass and copper wares, 350 bellows, 12,000 fenders, 40 tons of German silver, 40 tons refined metal, 350 miles' length of wax for vestas, 50 tons of wrought-iron hinges, 500 tons of nuts and screws, bolts and spikes, 18,720,000 wood screws, 5 tons of hairpins, and hooks and eyes, 10 tons of pins, 4000 miles of iron and steel wire, £30,000 worth of jewellery, 6 tons of papier-mâché wares, 20,000 pairs of spectacles, 5,000,000 of copper and bronze coins, 1000 saddles, 100,000,000 buttons, 300,000,000 cut nails, 7000 guns, 6000 bedsteads, 14,000,000 pens, besides other articles of commercial value.

A POUND OF IRON.—ITS VALUE.

A French political writer, Alguroth, in his writings, by way of exemplifying the prodigious addition of value given to an object by industry, adduces the spiral springs that check the balance wheels of watches.

"A pound of pig iron," he says, "costs the operative manufacturers about five sous (2½d. English money). This is worked up into steel, of which is made the little spring that moves the balance wheel of a watch. Each of these little springs weigh but the tenth part of a grain, and when completed may be sold as high as eighteen francs (or 15s.); so that out of a pound of iron, allowing for loss of metal in manufacturing, 80,000 of these little springs may be made, and a substance of five sous' (2½d.) value be wrought into a value of 1,440,000 francs," equal to £618,000 sterling. France, under Colbert's administration of the strictest Protection, emerged from the great distress that two regencies and a weak reign had involved her in. And the vast resources raised and established by him, would have been still more ample, had he given the same protection to agriculture that he did to the manufacturers. Poland, which exports at the rate of 10,000,000 of wheat annually, and, therefore, according to Free-trade, takes the sure road to national wealth, is, notwithstanding, poor; poor indeed, and depopulated. And why? Because she confines her industry to agriculture, though she might be at the same time a commercial and a manufacturing country also. Instead of engaging Dutch ships to carry her wheat to market she could build her own ships. Nor is she a jot less dependent than the nation that has to buy wheat of her. She, Poland, has to purchase her East and West India produce of Holland. Again, if Poland had done what England, France, and America have done in manufacturing industries, she would have increased her population, consumed her own wheat, created home markets, and with her own navy import and export; and thus create, and permanently secure, a prosperous population, commerce, and navigation of her own. My dear reader, reflect a while, and you will find that the wise and really gainful policy is NOT that which grasps at cheapness: is NOT that which will take a foreign article because it may be, or appear to be, cheaper to you in preference to the one made by your neighbour, even though his article may appear to cost you twice the amount of the imported one, but that which mutually assists to develop the natural and producing power of the whole nation. We have seen this theory everywhere justified by practical experience in time past in England, America, France, and other nations; it is still justified in America, England, France, Germany, Russia, &c.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD says:—"Wherever wages are high, universally throughout the world, it is an unfailing evidence of the wealth and riches of that country; and wherever wages are low for labour, it is an absolute proof of the poverty of that place: a positive proof that money is scarce and trade dull. To reduce the condition of the producer by law, that is by 'Free-trade,' by unlimited competition by foreigners worse lodged, worse clothed, worse fed than the English are used to; in order to compete successfully with them, the Englishman, also, must descend to be worse lodged, worse fed, and worse clothed. The foreign workmen will inevitably usurp the Englishman's market unless he can meet them on equal terms. When he does descend, the entire nation will descend also, and this too almost simultaneously." Surely, this is not desirable. Nevertheless it must follow indiscriminate Free-trade. "Look," says the disciple of Louis Blanc, "look at the resplendent gold and silver tissue which I am weaving, and then look at my own rags! Your fierce competition is doing the same everywhere you can. The cheapest and worse-paid workmen in the whole habitable world must beat all the rest. That is the standard at which your Free-trade system aims. You establish a deadly struggle who shall descend first to the lowest level. You will deteriorate and brutalise the masses of mankind!" Nevertheless a natural home competition, such as will follow from the Protection system when all the manufactures are fully established, will be a wholesome one, not by any means injurious to individuals, but a source of stimulating power leading to a greater and more perfect increase of new property: the best riches of a nation. What on earth would Belgium ever have been or could she come to had she refused the Protection system, and instead have adopted that of Free-trade? Universal experience for centuries replies—"Belgium would long ages gone by have been depopulated, her producing and her purchasing power gone, and the remnant of her population in absolute destitution and rags." What more overwhelming proof of the irresistible truths of these statements relating to Belgium and Free-trade can be asked for by the most sanguine supporter of the Free-trade system than the

shamefully impoverished, humiliating, and absolutely degraded condition of that well-known and universally acknowledged most fertile country, Ireland?

IRELAND.

According to the Free-trade theory, Ireland ought to be a most exceedingly prosperous nation. She is very large and eminently fertile, in a temperate climate, commercially well situated, and she has safe, noble and capacious harbours, noble rivers, immense water-power. Her population is very great, and in spite of calumnious assertions to the reverse, her poor—when employed and enabled to feed and clothe themselves—are the most able-bodied, laborious, and most hospitable of mankind, doing a large proportion of the hardest work in the British Empire, Europe, and America. Now, above all other countries on earth, Ireland has had the most perfect Free-trade for fifty years with England, the richest manufacturing nation on the globe, and the Free-trade system has there had its full and unrestrained course.

But, alas! in poor Ireland, as everywhere else, do not facts rebuke the Free-trade system in the strongest terms? Let us see. What is the condition of Ireland? The monster miseries of Ireland are so numerous, vast, complicated, and long-continued, and thoroughly exposed by so many writers and travellers in that country, that a detailed explanation in these limited pages will not be necessary. Nevertheless, I can not pass them without some notice, and especially as this poor and very shamefully ill-used country will illustrate some of the miseries that Free-trade has heaped upon a naturally industrious, hardworking, honest, virtuous, and frugal people. The land of Ireland, when but moderately cultivated, will produce an enormous surplus. Sir Robert Kane tells us there is no redundancy of population in Ireland; but tells us Ireland could with ease maintain two and a-half times its present numbers (1849); that all fears of a surplus population are preposterous. Besides the land already tolerably cultivated, there are, we are told, in Ireland not less than 6,000,000 acres of waste land. The proprietors have been allowed to lock up their land with charges constituting a "mortmain," preventing not only alienation but cultivation.

The population of Ireland in 1821 was 6,801,827, in 1851 it was 6,551,970, and in 1861 it was only 5,798,767. Is this the sort of prosperity unrestrained Free-trade engenders? The depopulation of a country after destroying its industry by every possible means. What does the Registrar-General, Mr. Donnelly, say on the subject of emigration? The emigration statistics of Ireland—the report of which has just been published up to November, 1873—continue to afford surprising results, and we are assured that there is a net increase of 13,677 emigrants in 1873 over those of 1872. The total emigration of 1872 was 71,610 men and women, and in 1873 it increased to 85,287. Mr. Donnelly sums up the whole known exodus from Ireland since the 1st of May, 1851—the date at which the collection of these returns regularly commenced at Irish ports,—and announces that from that date there have been 2,247,883 emigrants, male and female, from Ireland. "This vast number," he says, "which is about equal to the entire population of Holland, probably exceeds anything the world has witnessed in the way of emigration since the ancient times, when the sturdy tribes of Germany, Scandinavia, the Huns, and the Franks moved down *en masse* over Italy, France, and Spain." All these people went to the United States of America, with many thousands more from Germany, &c. So much for perfectly free trade! Now let us see what Free-trade has done for Ireland's manufactures! For nearly half a century Ireland has had perfectly free trade with the richest country in the world, and with which steamboats and railways are now closely connected. What has Free-trade done for her? Surely no man can object to the fullest inquiry into this instance. (We have the Free-traders now in open field). She has now very little or no employment for her teeming population (1849), except upon the land, and that is locked up against them. She ought to have had, and would have had, other and various employment, and plenty of it. Are we to believe the cruelly unjust calumny that "the Irish won't work"? Is Irish human nature so different from other human nature? Are not the most laborious of all labourers—wherever the British flag flies—Irishmen? Are Irishmen inferior in understanding? The world has witnessed the great personal

ability of the disciplined Irish head, at the Bar, the Pulpit, the Stage; in the navy, in the army, on the field of battle, at sea, and on shore; and know no better. But in all these cases that master of industry, the stomach, has been well fed. No! the truth is, the misery of Ireland is not from the human nature that grows there—it is from mistaken or selfish legislation, past and present. As regards England's past legislation, for a long course of years, Ireland's manufactures were systematically discouraged and stifled, while England's own were, at the same time, protected and cherished.

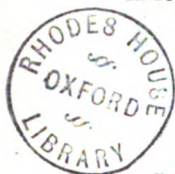
"Ireland," says Dean Swift, writing in 1727,—“is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their own native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at war with their own province or state; yet this privilege, by the bare superiority of mere power, is refused to Ireland in the most momentous parts of commerce.” The masculine common sense of this great writer bewails in a hundred places, the cruel importation of English manufactures, and the consequent absence of Irish ones, as the sad plague and curse of Ireland! “One cause of a country's thriving,” he says, “is the industry of the people in working up all their own native commodities to the last.” Another, “The convenience of safe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as LITTLE manufactured, as they possibly can!” Another, “The disposition of the whole people of the country to WEAR their own manufactures, and import as few clothes, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.” “I would be glad,” he says, “to learn by what secret means it is that we are to grow rich and flourish. The only trade worth naming is the linen of the north, and some butter from Cork.” “If,” he continues, “we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason; like the thorn at Glastonbury, which blossoms in the midst of winter.” All now at length admit that the old English policy of preventing or destroying Irish manufacturing industry was not only unjust, but highly injurious to England as well as to Ireland, but inflicting, as it did on Ireland, the curse of inveterate pauperism and mendicancy. The mischief is done; and trade, like water, has always a tendency to run in the same channel, and, as English manufactures have constantly kept every Irish village, where there may be a penny to spend effectually choked, the Irish industry, the Irish infant, and unprotected manufacturing industry is most effectually annihilated. This is the principal cause of Irish misery, of Irish discontent, insubordination, and insecurity. There is one, and but one, great industry in Ireland prosperous, and rivaling Manchester. This is the linen manufactory of Belfast. Now, did this great industry come from Free-trade? No, but far from it. A French refugee from the reign of Louis the XIV., settled in Belfast, and introduced the trade. King William III. encouraged it with a large annual grant. This grant was continued by succeeding sovereigns. A linen board sitting in Dublin under the sanction and protection of Government, regulated the trade. It was afterwards further encouraged by a parliamentary grant continued to 1826! At length, when the industry had been thoroughly established, and strong enough to stand of itself, those artificial supports were withdrawn, and now it is one of the first establishments in all Europe. Where would this flourishing industry have been if the Free-trade and let-alone system had been followed? The Scotch fisheries were at first created by actual bounties. The Irish fisheries have, if not for bounties, at least for direct encouragement, a much more urgent claim. The poor fishermen were obliged, in the distress of the Irish famine, to part with their boats and tackle, and they have never since been able to replace them. They are, therefore, to be found swelling the crowds of unemployed; while the western and southern coasts of Ireland are swarming with the best of fish. Before the Irish union with England, Irish protecting duties existed on many English manufactures. Among others, there was a duty on English woollens; a duty on English calicoes and muslins, so high as to be nearly prohibitory; a duty on English silks. There were duties on English cottons, yarn, cotton-twist, and cotton manufactured goods. But, by the Act of Union, these duties were only to continue on woollens and several other articles, for twenty-one years. It continued the high duties on calicoes and muslins till 1808. They were thence to be gradually reduced till they should fall to 10 per cent. in 1816, and to nothing in 1821. The duties on cotton yarn and cotton twist were

continued till 1808, and were then to be gradually reduced to nothing in 1816. The linen trade was,—as above noticed,—encouraged by a parliamentary grant, in years gone by, but withdrawn in 1826. Now, dear reader, specially notice the effects:—first, of Protection, and, next, of Free-trade, on the same people. Before the Union there were under protection, Irish woollen factories, Irish carpet factories, Irish blanket factories, Irish silk factories, Irish calico factories, Irish flannel factories, and Irish stocking factories. These manufactories are NOW ALL SMOTHERED, EXTINCT, things of the PAST AGES. It has been stated by unquestionable authority, of those well acquainted with the facts, that in 1800, the Irish had ninety-one master woollen manufacturers in Dublin, employing 4918 hands. In 1840, the masters numbered twelve, the hands 602. Master wool-combers in 1800 were thirty, the hands 230. In 1834 the masters numbered five, the hands sixty-six. Carpet manufacturers—in 1800, masters were thirteen, hands 720. In 1841, masters 1, hands 0. Blanket manufacturers in Kilkenny—in 1800, masters fifty-six, hands 3000. In 1842, masters forty-two, hands 925. Broad silk loom weavers in Dublin in 1800, at work, 2500. In 1840, 250. Calico looms in Balbriggan, in 1799, in full work, 2000. In 1841, 226. Flannel looms in the County of Wicklow, in 1800, 1000. In 1841, not one left. In the City of Cork as follows:—

	1800.	1834.
Braid weavers	1000	40
Worsted weavers	2000	90
Hosiery	300	28
Wool combers	700	110
Cotton weavers	2000	210
Linen-check weavers	600	None.

Cotton spinners, calico printers—thousands employed now utterly extinct. The linen trade protected and fostered till 1826, was not in those days confined to the north of Ireland. In Clonakilty, in the county of Cork, £1200 a-week was expended on the purchase of linen webs so late as 1825. In Mayo £111,000 was expended in purchasing the same species of web. In 1825 the sum of two millions and a-half sterling was expended in Ireland in the purchase of coarse unbleached home-made webs. We are obliged for these specimens of the ruin of Irish industry to Mr. Burt, Q.C., at the Irish bar, who says they could be very much extended. This is Free-trade with a vengeance for fifty years. With Protection, increased and still increasing population and power of consumption, with the application of modern steam, water, and fire power, improved mechanical and chemical agencies, in addition to and co-operation with the prodigious natural powers of Ireland, it is absolutely impossible to compute what might now be the wealth, power, commerce and manufacturing, and agricultural resources of this fertile country.

Do you, Australians, intend to continue your present (1876) "Free-trade" system, importing what we can produce on the spot from old and firmly-established wealthy Europe, till you are reduced to the degraded level of Ireland and Turkey? The Assembly is but a legislative make-shift for ordinary occasions, and we see from experience that long debates show the more our representatives talk the less they do: I mean the less they do for the "PUBLIC good." History shows that the just and clear views, the unfettered and decisive action of a single mind, must make or save a nation. Thus Peter the Great laid the deep and strong foundation of modern Russia. So did royal Alfred for England, not the less royal that his incessant and self-sacrificing labours were prosecuted in a palace that we would call a hovel. We are told that the wind and drafts that whistled through made his candles gutter, so that he was obliged to read and write by a horn lantern. There, in gloom, and pain and sickness, sat the Lycurgus of the great Anglo-Saxon race, the legislator of a thousand years! Illustrious man! before whom the pageantry of all the potentates and the eloquence of all the parliaments of Europe shrink into insignificance. What would an Alfred now say to poor and disorganised Ireland; to its millions of acres of waste, but fertile and cultivable land; to its ruined commerce and manufactures; to its people crying for work and wages, still idle and starving; some flying for their very lives by thousands from their dearly-loved native country, others shut up in the poor workhouses? to its aristocracy and gentry absent and overwhelmed with debt? We know he would



not countenance "Free-trade" for one second. And we know he would rebuke his own countrymen for their cruelly selfish laws: that he would point out to them how they had protected their own manufacturing industry; how every European kingdom had done the same. Reflect, he would say, and consider for a moment what a native independent Irish parliament would be sure to do; then do it at once, viz.:—Protection and assistance to enable them to establish successfully their own agricultural and manufacturing industries, and independent general wealth will follow also, lasting peace and happiness the result. A poor Irishman was heard to say, while lamenting the sad fate of his country relatively to Free-trade policy, "Faith, an' it's free enough our breakfast-table is now; but, alas! for its freedom—it is not so free from taxes as it is FROM FOOD." Centuries of practical experience forced the universal admission that in whatever country the greatest encouragement is offered to a population, there the present people will remain, and naturally rapidly increase in numbers, wealth and power; thither, also, will population migrate if possible. This is manifested in the cases of America, more especially the United States of America, California, and Australia, on the discovery of gold in this part of the world. The reverse has been, and is, witnessed in the case of a country having no employment for her population. This is especially the case of Ireland. Since the period of abolition of Protection to her industries, Ireland has been gradually, but surely, becoming poorer and poorer every day, and in unison with this decline in her wealth, has been her decline of employment for her ever willing labourers. This has been going on since 1820. Now we have not far to go for ample proof of the full and perfect truth of these statements. During the whole, or nearly the whole of this period, Ireland has had free intercourse with the cheapest. She has accordingly (however reluctantly I am not bound to notice for my present purpose), purchased her necessities in the cheapest market, and the system has had a fifty years' trial (no mean trial it must be granted). On the other hand, England would not admit any foreign manufactures to land on her shores free of a very heavy duty, nay, not even the products of her own colonies were free of duty on landing in England. But instead, she not only manufactured all her own necessities in England, but absolutely prevented her dependencies from following her example, the better to secure and ensure her own monopoly of trade. Hence England was able to find constant and permanent employment at good wages for her population. Now, let us see what was the apparent effect, or, at least, one of the apparent effects, of these two opposite systems on the population of each respective nation, viz.:—Manufacturing England and non-manufacturing Ireland.

Population of Ireland.				Population of England.			
In 1821	...	...	6,801,827	In 1811	...	...	9,553,021
„ 1851	...	...	6,551,970	„ 1821	...	...	11,281,883
„ 1861	...	...	5,798,967	„ 1831	...	...	13,090,523
				„ 1841	...	...	14,997,427
				„ 1851	...	...	16,921,888
				„ 1861	...	...	18,954,444

Thus, between 1821 and 1851, Ireland lost 249,857 of her people. But England, in the same time, gained not less than 5,640,005. Again, Ireland lost between 1851 and 1861, 753,003, while England in the same period gained 2,032,556. From 1821 to 1861, Ireland lost 1,002,860. In the same period, England gained 7,672,561.* Is this a desirable state of Free-trade? of purchasing in the cheapest market? Australians! will you follow the example of Ireland and continue purchasing in the cheapest market till you will not have any money or very little to purchase with? Or will you do as England and all Europe and America have done? Manufacture your own; protect your manufactures and agricultural industries; and do not allow any foreigner to come into your homes with a sweet breath but a black heart, to steal away your hard-earned money. See what Turkey has come to from her Free-trade system with England, and other old-established manufacturing nations of Europe and America! If the Free-trade system had one spark of invigorating principle in it, surely it would have long since illuminated its locality

* According to English ratio of increase from 1821 to 1861, Ireland would, under Protection, have had, in 1861, above 11,000,000.

in some one of the nations of Europe that were tempted, by its alluring illusions, to give it a trial—such for instance as Russia, that could well submit to loss. But Russia found out in proper time that the lure, “buy in the cheapest market,” was a system accompanied by unfailing loss to the purchaser in the end. Ireland also knew it beforehand from her own clear-headed conceptions; but in her case she was helplessly bound to England, who never ceased saying to the Irish: “Buy,” with the most bitter irony, to the POOR PENNILESS IRISH, “buy in the cheapest market. Don’t make for yourselves when you can buy cheaper than you can make.” Thinking, experienced men of study warn, but the warning is not only unheeded but ridiculed. “If,” says Dr. Franklyn, “you will not hear reason, she will surely rap your knuckles.” So say I to you, dear reader, if you are an Australian, and as I may suppose a Free-trade supporter; if you will not take timely warning from history, you may live to see this fair colony writhing under an overwhelming press of public debt, taxes, &c., the interest of which alone she may prove unable to pay off when due, as has already, at least once, occurred in New South Wales. But the gold mania of 1870-1-2, having arrived in time to save a national humiliation—such for instance as occurred in the first years of the American Union—we go on as before, with the most unheeded recklessness.

IRISH WEAVERS IN SCOTLAND.

The Journal of the Statistical Society of London, has the following, viz.:—“Owing to the depressed state of trade, the consequent want of employment, and the scarcity of provisions in 1837, a large number of the working classes in Glasgow were reduced to very necessitous circumstances. A public meeting was held in the town-hall of Glasgow, on 19th May, 1837, and a subscription to £10,000 was raised. There were found 1739 Scotch, 1103 Irish, and 42 foreign weavers: in all 2884 weavers out of employment; of whom 1103 were poor IRISH, who had been driven from their own homes by Free-trade in search of employment.” Here again is another sad instance, another of the evil effects, of that “Free-trade” and “buy in the cheapest market” system. If such a policy were calculated to benefit, employ, and enrich a population, why has it not done so for Ireland? for Russia? American colonies? Cape of Good Hope? the East and West Indies? Canadas? and Australia? especially the colony of New South Wales? Before 1846, ALL great nations and great statesmen had acted on the Protectionist principle, and always with eminent success: Cromwell, Walpole, and Lord Chatham in England, and others in France. Since 1846, no disposition to adopt the Free-trade or “buy in the cheapest market” policy, has been evinced by any foreign nation. Whatever changes have occurred, or seem likely to occur, are in favour of Protection. Hamburg, the last fortress of Free-trade on the continent, has joined the German Protectionist League. Hanover has just done the same. Switzerland has raised her import duties. France has recently inaugurated the statue of Colbert, at Rheims, his native city. Belgium, not content with heavy import duties, offers bounties for exportations. The United States of America have elected a Protectionist president, recalled their Free-trade ambassador, and sent a Protectionist representative to England. The Southern States have now joined the Northern in the demand for Protection, and no doubt exists that the impending change in the American tariff will reimpose duties for the avowed intention of strict Protection. Russia maintains the Protectionist policy, to which she has returned. It is not a class, but THE NATION that will insist on the necessary change. If Holland could only have maintained her former supremacy of the seas, she would continue to prosper and be wealthy from the mere fact of her sea-carrying ability, and HER purchasing in the cheapest market, and carrying the purchases to foreign nations more in need of them, and returning to Europe with the valuable tropical products. Under such circumstances alone can the “purchase in the cheapest market” system be correct. But Oliver Cromwell took that supremacy of the seas away from the Dutch; and the English have kept it to this day. This is principally the cause of British wealth, power, and prosperity. Another is the suicidal policy of glutting the colonial markets with the manufactures of England; the proceeds thereof, and the double freight in British ships cannot fail to maintain English wealth and prosperity, while her dependencies continue their suicidal weakness and wealth-reducing folly of buying in the cheapest market. The weak and the young industries,

as also the nation, will surely decline and fall—aye, it may be, to the condition of the ancient Lacedemonians, or the modern Chinese, to kill off deformed or superfluous children; and when the parents are so old that they consume more than they produce, they be also removed. Our moral sense revolts at the very mention of such atrocities; but so it does at the commercial treatment of the poor labourer, which may be also murder, but on a larger scale, and with less cause. But if Holland had been a manufacturing state, a state having agricultural and mineral produce, raw materials indigenous to the state, to supply her domestic demand, Oliver Cromwell's great victories over the Dutch would not have had the crushing effect we know they had. She was merely a carrier. England is both a carrier and a producer. Nor is that nation in existence that could deprive her of either! I am, nevertheless, afraid the day of England's humiliation is not far distant. When it does come, it will be as it was with the Romans, from her own dependencies: she will not be in a position to prevent it; and she will not have any cause for complaint.

ENGLISH CONSUMPTION.

With all the colonies and commerce of England, her immense commercial capital, her unrivalled facilities for shipping and trade, her position in the ocean, and her great manufacturing capacity; political writers tell us that more than two-thirds of England's industrial products, not including agricultural products, but absolutely two-thirds of her manufactures, are used in her own home consumption! It is not questioned, but fully admitted, that her export trade is but the overflow of the cup of plenty in her industrial productions; its fulness is all within its own rim; within the limits of her own little island. A celebrated English writer has furnished us with the following statistical conjecture of the value of the goods produced and exported in 1834, viz. :—

	Value produced.	Value exported.
Cotton goods	£52,213,586	£20,513,586
Woollen goods... ..	44,250,000	3,736,871
Linen goods	15,421,186	2,579,655
Silk goods	13,425,510	637,013
Leather goods	18,000,000	248,302
	<hr/> £143,610,282	<hr/> £29,715,430

Of clothing materials, which are the main articles on which the English manufacturers' labour is employed, it would appear from this view that about four-fifths of the products of her manufacturing industry are consumed in her own home markets, and one-fifth only exported to foreign markets, including the colonies. Of other manufactured articles produced and exported in 1834, the following is an estimate :—

	Value produced.	Value exported.
Iron, cutlery, and hardware	£38,170,600	£2,269,439
Brass and copper wares	4,900,160	961,809
Wood and cabinetwork wares	14,000,000	377,941
Totals	<hr/> £57,070,792	<hr/> £4,209,184

And thus the home market for these latter articles exceeds still more the proportion consumed in the foreign market. According to the same statistical author the producing capital of Great Britain in 1836 was—For agriculture, £258,910,810; for manufactures, £178,404,278, of which only £16,381,222 was employed in the production of manufactured goods for the foreign markets. Speaking of manufacturing communities who have also agricultural products of the first necessity, the same writer says :—“It is quite unreasonable to expect that they would take our manufactures to the prejudice of their own, merely because we take corn of them.” If it were the true interest of Prussia, which it is not, to sacrifice her richest and most improving provinces on the Rhine with manufacturing capabilities, capital and enterprise, to her poor agricultural provinces on the Baltic, her Government dare not do so. Her Rhenish and Westphalian provinces are not only wealthy and manufacturing,

they are liberal; not disposed to be fond of autocratic principles of Government, and have very clearly indicated that they would not suffer it, nor be governed like military serfs by the will of a Cabinet. It is from this population, of about 4,000,000, that the impulse has been given to the great movement of the Germans in the German League. Now, in view of the immense capital sunk in the established manufactures of England, the equally great facilities she has in her numerous and powerful and perfect machinery; in her vast naval power; in the great resources she now commands for an abundant supply of every description of raw materials from her numerous dependencies at the lowest cost, is it not astonishing in the extreme that any man or colony could be found in the civilised world, possessed of even common-sense, to advocate Free-trade with such a great nation?

France, with her reciprocity treaty with Great Britain, has nothing to fear. England cannot undersell France in French markets, but France can undersell England in her own markets in at least her silk, wine, glove, and other articles of manufacturing industry. This Napoleon foresaw. Hence his anxiety to secure to the French the boon of "free trade" with England. No other nation on earth can hold such a position but these two. Nor can France compete with England in all the foreign markets. English shipping are too numerous to allow that.

ALISON ON POPULATION.

ALISON, another great political writer, says, on the subject of population:—"When foreign industry obtains the preference to domestic industry, a most powerful check will thus be brought to operate upon the demand for labour. Soon after the peace of 1814, the British manufacturer, exposed to the galling competition of foreign industry, the most incessant and apparently well-grounded complaints were made by our manufacturers that they were unable to withstand the competition of other nations in which subsistence can be acquired with greater ease, and the remuneration of labour cheaper. The difference in money wages of labour in this island and on the Continent of Europe is prodigious. The sums paid in some of the Continental States to labourers are not a fourth of what are paid to the same class in this country (England)." MR. GREIG, of Manchester, states the price of "Continental labour" to be as follows, viz.:—France, 5s. 8d. per week of seventy-two hours; Switzerland, 4s. 5d. per week of eighty-two hours; Austria, 4s. per week of seventy-six hours; Tyrol, 3s. 9d. per week of eighty-eight hours; Saxony, 3s. 6d. per week of seventy-two hours; Bonn, on the Rhine, 2s. 6d. per week of eighty-four hours; while the rate of wages for the very same class of men in England was from 10s. to 30s. per week." Australians, do you wish your country to come down to this level? to a level that no Englishman would submit to? Believe me, New South Wales is fast approaching this stage of low pay for the little labour that is really permanently needed. When your money is gone again, and our Colonial Treasurer, as before, becomes unable to pay the interest of our public debt, employment for the people will become less, the remuneration for the little labour engaged reduced, vacancies seldom occurring and few, with an increased number of eager applicants for the most menial employment. No money to purchase your cheap imports, and hence no market for your own products (granting you get Protection in the eleventh hour for any manufactures you may be forced to produce to live). In this condition you would not have any capital to bring necessary machinery to your rescue, and the crowded population of such countries as China, India, and other poorly paid people, will keep your nose to the grindstone of poverty, unless indeed you act, and that without delay, as your English or British forefathers have done, and as your American cousins have done—protect your own industries from all foreign invasion by the imposition of heavy duties on such manufactures as we are now and may soon be able to produce ourselves. I would have you bear in mind the great age of this colony in comparison with CALIFORNIA. See her grand magnificence achieved since only, 1848, and look at our humiliating comparative insignificance that we have been achieving for nearly 100 years. If "FREE-TRADE" and BUYING IN THE CHEAPEST MARKET had been possessed of the great wealth-bestowing virtues claimed for them by their wily advocates, surely New South Wales, with all her UNRIVALLED natural deposits of metallic and mineral wealth, and other vast natural and

artificial wealth-producing resources, ought now, after a twenty-six years' trial of both, claim some proof of these allegations? Where on earth can any proof be found? It is not in Ireland after a fifty years' trial! It is not in British America after 100 years' trial! It is not in the Cape Settlements, after a trial of above 200 years! It is not in either the East or the West Indies, after a trial of about 100 years! and it is not in Australia since 1849-50! On the other hand we have no end of ample proof of the unrivalled wealth-bestowing virtues of the Protection laws! It is found in every civilised nation in Europe, and in the United States of America.

CALIFORNIA.

California, a mere infant State, will surely be another of those numerous national proofs of what can be, and is, done under the Protective system. San Francisco, in 1848, consisted of a few rude cabins only. Its population, in January, 1849, was 26,000, including Americans, Californians, and foreigners. It is now one of the United States of America, of which they are and may well be proud (the above is the entire population of California). The city of San Francisco is built upon a "sandy level," and during the rainy seasons, when it is most densely crowded, the streets are at best mere puddles, into which the carriages sink to the axles; whilst in the dry seasons the dust is intolerable. This has been obviated by flooring the streets with stout planking. It is now a most superior emporium with its exchange, custom house, theatres and churches, and many other public and private buildings of a nature exhibiting the great wealth of this State. And while such is the metamorphosis on shore, her waters, formerly not much known and deserted, are now, 1868, crowded with shipping and steamers from all parts of the commercial world,—and it is not a Free-trade, nor a buy-in-the-cheapest-market policy, but a strict Protection policy maintained here—over 100 steamers are constantly employed on the inland waters of this State, eighty-seven of which, measuring 20,460 tons, are registered in San Francisco; and the customs' receipts in 1867 amounted to 7,444,881 gold dollars, the internal revenue for the same year being 3,899,626 dollars currency. San Francisco is indebted for this all but miraculous transformation to the discovery of gold deposits in her lands. The city has suffered very great loss from fires, and has been several times laid waste. The present population is mixed, and from all parts of the globe. From the consul's report of March, 1868, we take the following:—1st March, 1868, population 131,100, including all nations and colours (now 800,000); exports from San Francisco, other than gold treasure, &c.

In 1863	...	...	...	...	...	...	£2,408,560
„ 1864	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,644,265
„ 1865	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,910,760
„ 1866	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,460,830
„ 1867	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,493,150

And this increase is known to be nothing in comparison with later years, of which I have not yet any statistical record.

This young infant State has most perfectly eclipsed this colony in every respect, including agriculture, manufactures, commerce, navigation, and population. New South Wales has now, 1876, not more than 500,000 inhabitants, while California has not less than 800,000 inhabitants. Thus California, with a most prohibitory Protective system, has managed to increase her permanent population nearly four times the number it was in 1849, while this colony has only doubled its population in the same period, with the boasted Free-trade system at her constant assistance; besides, California did not spend one cent on immigration, while New South Wales spent many thousands of pounds sterling in the importation of people in the same period. Nor can it be said that we had not the same chances of securing a population that California had. Nay, the reverse is more to the point. California has not any equal natural advantages to this colony. It is the mode of government that has done so much for California and so little for New South Wales.

The area of British North America is—length 3200 miles, breadth 1800 miles, total area in square miles, 3,600,000. United States of America—length 2500 miles, breadth 1400 miles, total area in square miles, 2,819,811. This shows

positively that England has a far greater extent of territory in America than the United States can claim, and also exhibits in a most glaring manner, the great superiority of the United States' system of government over the British system.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

Now, dear reader, we may take a peep at the comparative condition of New South Wales,—which is a much older State than California—a Free-trade colony above five-and-twenty years, *i.e.*, since gold was first discovered in California (1849). The population of New South Wales at that period was about 190,000 (at the separation of Victoria in 1851 we had 197,168, so I believe I am under the correct estimate of population in 1849). California was in a state of infancy in 1849, scarcely known to the world, with a population of only 26,000 souls, foreigners, &c., all included. From these figures (statistical records) we see that this colony had in 1849 above seven times the population of all California. Free-traders are constantly objecting the theory that Protection would destroy external trade, and yet not one instance can they name to support the allegation; but, on the contrary, all Europe, America, and absolutely England herself, afford, as we have seen, ample proof that Protection is the ever-unfailing helm that will steer New South Wales and the other Australian colonies to permanent and progressive wealth, happiness, and prosperity. In addition to the overwhelming proof of the soundness of the above statements, I point to that infant country California, which maintains the Protectionist system of the older States of America. Is it not humiliating to the people of this colony (the elder of the two by fifty years), numbering seven times the population of California in 1849, that we must be fed, &c., by her,—by this infant State? and this, too, off her own table, out of her own soil, of her own infant industry, from the ever beneficial effects of a system we have been too ready to ridicule, but which that infant PROVIDORE, that infant teacher, embraced from the first signs of life exhibited by her wise men! Australia has as fine a climate, and has as good soil as can be found in California; we should be, therefore, as well able to grow our own wheat, our own fruits, our own arrowroot, our own maize, our own sugar, our own tobacco; make our own wines, our own preserves, fruits, our own tobacco. In short, we should be independent of all foreign supplies, not only growing as good, but also manufacturing as good at least as the infant California. To know that California is now many years, and vast wealth, power, and prosperous commerce ahead of us, is, or ought to be, enough to arouse the people of this colony from the stupid lethargy by which they apparently seem to be hopelessly overcome. That wonderful go-ahead State California—this infant is styled by the “Sydney Morning Herald” amongst others. I can not see anything wonderful about her, nothing beyond what commonsense will dictate in the management of public affairs. In 1851 New South Wales got a fair start by the timely discovery of gold deposits at Ophir diggings, near Bathurst. This fortunate discovery soon increased our population, and induced those who had left our shores to return, but alas, did not settle here.

THE REGISTRAR'S REPORT.

At the separation of Victoria from New South Wales, we had a population—

In 1851	...	...	...	...	...	...	197,168
“ 1852	..	...	...	...	...	...	208,254
“ 1853	...	...	...	...	...	...	237,088
“ 1854	...	...	...	...	...	...	251,315
“ 1855	...	...	...	...	...	...	271,575
“ 1856	...	...	...	...	...	...	268,873
“ 1857	...	...	...	...	...	...	305,487
“ 1858	...	...	...	...	...	...	342,062
“ 1859*	...	...	...	...	...	...	336,572
“ 1860	...	...	...	...	...	...	348,546
“ 1865	...	...	...	...	...	...	411,388
“ 1866	...	...	...	...	...	...	431,414

*Separated from Queensland.

But Free-trade ruined us, as we see now by our value of imports in 1859 and 1860:—

	1859.	1860.
Apparel and slops	£161,425	£243,207
Beer	230,750	229,541
Flour	77,050	234,659
Grain	206,845	315,846
Hardware	252,201	287,713
Iron and steel	95,316	176,679
Leather and boots	299,398	385,948
Stationery	109,429	152,188
Tobacco	134,961	176,587

There is a decrease in the importation of sugar, fish, fruit, tea and coffee. Sugar and tea especially decreased, viz., 1859, sugar £765,108; in 1860, only £308,256, showing a decrease of £456,912. Tea in 1859, £501,330; in 1860, £400,812; decrease, £100,518.

IMMIGRATION.

The number of emigrants from the United Kingdom in 1862 was only 1851, of whom 1204 came at public expense, showing a large falling-off from previous years.

LUNATICS.

It is to be very much regretted that the numbers of these in confinement in the public lunatic asylums continue to increase in a much larger ratio than our population. The number in Tarban Creek asylum, on the 31st December, 1865, was 492, of whom 315 were males, and 177 females. There were remaining on 31st December, 1866, 546 lunatics, of whom 366 were males, and 180 females; and it is found necessary to enlarge and improve this establishment. There were during 1865, 70 discharged cured, and 73 in 1866. By far the greater number are British born; there being 438 of them to 56 colonial born and 52 foreign born. There are also an increasing number in the Parramatta lunatic asylum. On 31st December, 1865, there were 446, of whom 225 were males, and 191 females; and on December 31st, 1866, there remained in the asylum 470, of whom 273 were males and 197 females. And here also the British were in the great majority, numbering 369 cases, colonial born only 63, foreign born 38. Therefore, there were in the two establishments 1019 lunatics, of whom no less a number than 807 were British born, 122 colonial, and but 90 foreign born. Is not this a sad picture of the disappointed immigrant? I'll vouch it can not be found in California.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

In the charitable institutions there is noticed a gradually increasing expenditure all over the colony. (I am extracting from our records.) The hospitals, in 1865, expended £24,302 9s., and during 1866 £29,912 2s. 6d. The benevolent asylums, in 1865, cost £18,230 5s. 1d., and in 1866 £21,894 8s. 10d. The orphan and ragged schools cost £8205 19s. 7d. in 1865, and in 1866 the sum rose to £9030 8s. 9d. The expenses of the lunatic asylums increased from £21,079 13s. 4d. in 1865 to £25,110 16s. 4d. in 1866. And the miscellaneous charitable institutions from £13,187 15s. 11d. in 1865 to £17,335 15s. 10d. in 1866. Of the whole of this expenditure, £74,388 9s. 8d. was contributed by the Government, and £23,965 13s. 11d. by voluntary contributions. It must now be observed that voluntary contributions have declined, while the public expenditure has increased. It is shown that the total number of those receiving relief during 1866 was no less than 20,161 persons, at £5 2s. 5½d. per head. It is a most lamentable fact that the destitute children's asylum shows an increase of over 100 inmates, as compared with the previous year (1865), viz.: in 1865, 553; in 1866, 654; increase, 101 exactly. And the Government contributions here also are largely in excess of previous years, while the voluntary contributions are manifestly falling off. The total of the expenditure was, in 1865, £6413 8s. 7d., and in 1866 it rose to

£10,568 16s. 11d. The increased Government aid was £5092 19s. 2d., while the voluntary subscriptions fell off to the amount of £937 10s. 7d.

The increase of committals to the higher courts of justice, in 1866, was sixty-three in excess of 1865. A far greater increase in crime is seen in other courts of this colony. And the convictions in the higher courts show a marked increase upon the returns since the year 1860.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—The tables that have been compiled, showing detailed accounts of imports and exports during the year, will show, in a striking way, how very dependent this colony is upon foreign supplies of raw produce and manufactured articles. With a view to direct attention to some of the many imports which might be supplied by colonial industry, a selection has been made, showing the amounts annually expended for consumption.

APPAREL AND SLOPS,

These were imported, in 1864, to the value of £198,500; in 1865, to the value of £192,112; and to £199,760 in 1866. With the recent extraordinary development of the manufacture of clothing, it is surprising that so large a quantity of ready-made clothing should be yearly imported into this colony, where there is a large unemployed female population! The amount of Victorian-made clothing imported is also considerable, having been valued at £29,545 in 1865, and in 1866 at £10,134. It really does appear that there is an opening here (New South Wales) for colonial industry that would give employment to a large number of our females who have now become familiar with the sewing machinery.

ARROWROOT AND SAGO.

We import arrowroot and sago to some considerable extent. It is to be hoped that as this article of daily consumption grows freely all over the colony, we shall soon be independent of any foreign supply! At the recent Intercolonial Exhibition, held in Melbourne, there were many samples of arrowroot shown by growers in the Hunter, the Clarence, and the Illawarra districts, and they attracted considerable attention in Victoria; and several specimens got medals. The quality of many of the samples was pronounced equal to the best West India arrowroot, and the Victorian agriculturists considered it would become an important article of New South Wales produce. It is to be hoped it will become an article of export, instead of an article of import.

ARMS AND GUNS.

These articles have never yet been manufactured in this colony, although the imports are large, viz.: valued at £14,972 in 1864; £32,460 in 1865; and £17,049 in 1866. But it is some satisfaction to know that, when the time does arrive for such enterprise, we have iron of the finest quality in the world for the purpose, abundance of coal to melt it, and timber on the spot admirably adapted for gun stocks, &c. May not New South Wales be the workshop of all the Australian colonies? especially in urgent need?

BLANKETS.

This article was imported to the extent of £21,530 in 1864, £12,913 in 1865, and £14,479 in 1866. When it is borne in mind that this colony exports upwards of 30,000,000 lbs. weight of wool annually, it will appear most strange that a manufactory for blankets has not yet been established here.

CANDLES.

These also form large articles of import, the value being, in 1864, £87,152; in 1865, £34,835; and in 1866, £52,956. May it not be expected that a colony which exported tallow to the extent of 75,810 cwt. in 1865, and 27,726 cwt. in 1866, might certainly produce all the candles that may be necessary for her home consumption? This is a very remarkable instance of the power of capital and cheap labour; for the attempt to introduce the manufacture has been made both in this

colony and in Victoria, and it was found that the imported article could be sold at a cheaper rate than the home-made, although the tallow from which they were made had sailed round the entire circle of the globe (viz., to England, and there made candles of, and thence back again to Australia.)

CONFECTIONS AND PRESERVES.

These were imported to the value of £37,917 in 1864, to £39,616 in 1865, and to £29,926 in 1866. Considering that fruit is so abundant and cheap, and sugar also, it is truly surprising that the imports should be so large as they are.

CORDAGE AND ROPES.

There is large demand for this article in this colony, arising from the extensive employment of shipping. The imports in 1864 were £43,835; in 1865, £44,435; and in 1866, £12,554. The raw materials of cocoanut fibre and New Zealand flax could be obtained in very considerable quantities, but at present there is little or no demand for it. A tape manufactory has been at work here, but not on a scale to influence the import market to any extent.

EARTHENWARE AND CHINA.

The manufacture of these articles could very well be accomplished in this colony. They form a very important item in our list of imports, having been in 1863, £45,244; in 1864, £40,243; in 1865, £33,520; and in 1866, £29,791 sterling; it is therefore to be hoped and expected that colonial industry will shortly be directed to the manufacture of these goods. The large cost of importing, arising from the bulky nature of these goods and the great amount of breakage that takes place, is computed to double the English cost when delivered to our consumers. There is ample proof that this colony possesses in abundance the raw materials for every description of chinaware and earthenware; and the plant of this manufacture is not expensive, for pottery is chiefly the product of hand labour. Fuel is cheaper here than in either of the adjacent colonies; and there are doubtless skilled potters in our midst, who, in the absence of employment in their own legitimate trades, have taken up with other trades or occupations, but who would gladly return to their own business were an opportunity offered them of doing so. This business would also furnish light and healthy employment to a large number of women and children. In the common description of china and earthenware it is evident also that there is an opening for colonial manufactures, as there has been proved to be for coarse earthenware, pipes, tiles, jars, chimneypots, &c. These used to be imported to the value of £1884 in 1863, £781 in 1864, £420 in 1865, and *nil* in 1866. At the late Intercolonial Exhibition at Melbourne, the specimens contributed by our local manufacturers were highly commended, and medals were awarded to them.

FLOUR AND GRAIN.

We do not grow enough for our domestic use, because we import this article also from foreign countries and the adjacent colonies, Melbourne, and Adelaide! It has been imported to above the amount of £1,000,000 sterling annually.

DRIED FRUIT.

The imports of this article amount to £53,262 in 1864, to £29,351 in 1865, and to £63,293 in 1866. At present there is not any attempt made to supply our domestic market with this great production of the colony. It is a positive fact that this colony could produce raisins, dried apples, figs, dried quinces, almonds, dried peaches, and, in short, nearly all the imported fruits in great perfection; and samples have been exhibited for years past. It is to be hoped we shall not continue much longer to import those fruits, but give our own people, especially our idle but willing females, some employment, that these smaller industries may take root and add to the material wealth and prosperity of this colony.

FURNITURE.

This was imported in 1864 to the value of £57,211, in 1865 to the value of £48,842, and in 1866 to £28,109. Here again is an article one would suppose,

from its bulky form and various fashions, especially adapted for home manufacture. The timber of this colony is admirably suited for ornamental purposes and cabinet work in general, and it is far more durable than any imported; but in spite of these advantages, at present, it appears, native industry cannot compete with imported articles.

GLASS.

The quantity of glassware imported in 1863 was £15,887; in 1864, £21,031; in 1865, £40,451; and in 1866, £20,445. This does not include plate and window glass, which was imported to a large amount. It has long been well known that the colony possesses in abundance the finest materials for the manufacture of glass, with one single exception of soda ash, which can be imported at a cheap rate. The high rate of carriage, with the loss by breakage that takes place in importation of this article, appears to offer a sufficient bounty for local manufacture.

HATS, CAPS, AND BONNETS.

These articles were imported to the value of £48,617 in 1864, to £49,438 in 1865, and to £55,065 in 1866. Here again, from the very bulky nature of these goods, import charges add enormously to their original cost. Their manufacture in this colony will, when the time comes, afford light and profitable employment for females now idle.

HOSIERY AND GLOVES.

These articles were imported to the value of £35,926 in 1864, to £39,407 in 1865, and to £40,959 in 1866. In the article of hose, which is eminently of domestic manufacture, and is capable of being carried on at our firesides, it is astonishing that no workman has set up a stocking-frame. We have our own wool of the finest quality, and we shall shortly number cotton amongst our productions. It is to be hoped that at no distant date we may see this branch of industry in our midst in full and prosperous working order, giving remunerative employment to numbers of our youth of both sexes. The demand for gloves is large, and the cost of importing greatly augmented from the difficulty of importing them free from damp or mildew; and doubtless this branch of domestic industry will also pay when we can manufacture the finer qualities of leather.

HARDWARE.

The imports under this designation amounted to £262,868 in 1864, to £289,692 in 1865, and to £165,881 in 1866. The magnitude of the trade in this branch of industry should prompt inquiry whether there are not many articles capable of being produced in this colony to great advantage. There are iron and brass foundries in this city capable of turning out works of the greatest magnitude or of the most delicate character, and there is some trade done in machinery of various kinds. TINWARE is also produced here, so it may be supposed that many articles of hardware could also be produced here if a beginning were only once made. It is well known that in Birmingham, the centre of manufactures of hardware, a great variety of articles are made by individuals who work in their own homes, or who hire steam-power in small shops attached to large manufactories. For these independent labourers there seems to be a good opening in this city, as they would save the whole of the intermediate profits.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The imports of pianofortes are very large, amounting to a value of £27,937 in 1864; to £26,112 in 1865; and to £19,313 in 1866. There can be no reason why the manufacture of pianofortes in this colony should not flourish as it does in the adjacent colony of Victoria, where there are four manufactories; one of them turning out a large number of very excellent instruments. And this colony can supply ornamental and other timbers equal in quality, and as cheap in price as that produced in any part of the world.

IRON AND STEEL.

The imports of these articles amounted in 1864 to £148,152; in 1865 to £105,983; and in 1866 to £106,871. It is, nevertheless, a positive fact that there is an iron

mine of great richness within eighty miles of Sydney, and that a sum of £80,000, at least, has been expended in buildings and plant for the manufacture of iron. The Fitzroy Iron Mine is situated close to the Great Southern Railway, and there is an abundance of coal and limestone in the immediate vicinity. It is admitted the ore is of a singularly pure and valuable quality! Many hundreds of tons of iron have been made, of which castings of the finest character have been taken and were exhibited in Paris in 1855; in London in 1862, and at Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition in 1866; on all of which occasions the superior quality of the iron was much spoken of. The supply is unlimited. The works are now, however, at a standstill for the want of the necessary capital. English capitalists are aware of the demand of capital which this article needs to establish it, and they are also aware of the immense value of such a mine in the immediate neighbourhood of a permanent and remunerative market, with a certain prospect of an unlimited demand for the raw and manufactured product. It can be but a question of time: this must eventually become the centre of the iron produce of Australia; and at least for all the Australian colonies.

LEAD.

This article was imported to the extent of £11,019 in 1864; to £12,805 in 1865; and to £6690 in 1866. This colony possesses this mineral in abundance in various places, but as yet it has not been systematically worked. This is another of the many gifts of Providence we have in our soil awaiting only the hand of the practical workman and the capitalist to be made a fruitful source of wealth and of revenue. The quantity is stated to be ample for all the requirements of this and the adjacent colonies.

LEATHER: BOOTS AND SHOES.

There was imported unmanufactured leather in 1865 to the amount of £6569; in 1866 to £6661. Boots and shoes were imported in 1864 to the amount of £355,281; in 1865 to £379,484; and in 1866 to £153,346. (This is simply shameful).

MALTS AND RUGS.

The value of imports of these articles amounted to £4388 in 1864; to £12,937 in 1865; and to £1646 in 1866. The ease with which the cocoanut-fibre could be obtained in this colony has led to its being used in our prisons in the manufacture of coir mats, and matting, and the quality of the article is quite equal to any imported, and is sold at a less price! It is not likely that this article will be gone into as a speculative industry; but as there are, unhappily, a very large number of able-bodied prisoners in our gaols, for whom this manufacture seems to supply fitting and convenient employment, it may be worthy of inquiry whether the quantity produced could not be augmented, so as to do away entirely with the large importations.

ONIONS, OILMEN'S STORES, &C., PICKLES, &C.,

Are imported to a great extent.

PIPES AND TOBACCO.

The imports of these articles in 1864 amounted to £5550; in 1865 to £5520; and in 1866 to £4119; the greater proportion being from Great Britain. Although we possess the raw materials, clay, and even meerschaum, or silicate of magnesia, in abundance, necessary for making the more expensive pipes, yet the perfection of machinery and the enormous production of the home (English) factories, will, for some time to come, enable them to supply the colonial markets at prices with which our local manufacturers cannot compete.

PERFUMERY.

In the year 1864 we imported perfumery to the value of £6774; in 1865 to £10,400; and in 1866 to £5381. Attempts have been made to make perfumes from our Australian plants, which may be found growing in the greatest profusion indigenously in our forest lands, that yield most fragrant odours. There is also

the large cultivation of the orange in the neighbourhood of Sydney; all offering opportunities for the distillation therefrom, of a variety of perfumes which have a large mercantile value.

POTATOES.

Potatoes were imported in 1864 to the value of £33,130; in 1865 to the value of £36,118; and in 1866 to no less than £60,312. Here again is further ample evidence of a deficient industry, of dormant enterprise. It is a certainty we have enough fertile land not only to supply the needs of this colony, but to spare for exportation also. There is the Hunter, the Illawarra, Shoalhaven, and many other abundantly fertile districts; yet it appears we receive from other sources large supplies. It is to be hoped that the rapid progress of the settlement of free selectors on the soil, will soon rectify this state of things.

SADDLERY AND HARNESS.

These articles were imported in 1864 to the value of £49,224; in 1865 to £60,676; and in 1866 to £51,493. There is an opening for the manufacture of these articles also, especially as we have our peculiar fashions, that cannot be so easily found elsewhere. Manufacturers should be aware that there is an abundance of leather of the first quality for harness purposes, both plain and enamelled.

SALT.

This useful article was imported in 1864 to the value of £33,330; in 1865 to £31,587; and in 1866 to £5932; but as we have not yet discovered any natural deposits of salt, we cannot compete with the large and cheap importations.

SOAP.

Soap was imported in 1865 to the extent of £1886; and in 1866 to £2331.

PAPER.

Paper was imported in 1865 to the amount of £81,926; and in 1866 to £66,846. The consumption of paper in this colony is very large, especially printing paper. In the hope of supplying this demand a company has been organised for the manufacture of printing paper, and a very substantial paper mill has been erected on the George River, at Liverpool, and a plant of first-class machinery imported. It is earnestly to be hoped that it will succeed, as it will give employment to a great number of women and children, as well as to skilled artisans. There can be no doubt that this is a most promising industry. The amount at present expended on the works is £30,000.

TIMBER.

Although this colony produces an unlimited quantity of the most durable and ornamental character in the world, and suitable for all the principal manufactures and building purposes; yet we find the imports from foreign countries very large. In 1865 we imported timber to the amount of £71,815; and in 1876, £22,977.

TOBACCO.

The imports of tobacco, in 1865, amounted to £132,519, and in 1866 to £74,484, of unmanufactured tobacco; of unmanufactured tobacco the imports were in 1865 £12,610; and in 1866 17,090. Cigars were imported in 1865 to the value of £35,937, and in 1866 to £13,790. In view of these enormous figures for a people of only 150,000 males (as we may exclude females for tobacco), we may find some explanation of the alleged inactivity and want of energy manifested in the colonists. There is also a large consumption of home-made tobacco.

WINES AND SPIRITS.

The imports of wine, in 1864, amounted to £37,010; in 1865 to £124,503; and in 1866 to £128,202. We have seen that the opinions of capital judges, expressed at various exhibitions of wines of the growth of this colony, have been uniformly favourable. At the recent Intercolonial Exhibition, at Melbourne, where a critical examination was made of their qualities, the highest testimonials were

awarded for their purity, their flavour, and their body. The best judges think they are all that can be needed by colonists.

The above returns and observations on the imports are from the pen of our worthy Registrar-General, and no man can say with impunity that he has made a single false statement in his advice to our legislators and manufacturers. It is this neglect of proper and wise legislation (this Free-trade) we feel. This is the sure way to destroy the prosperity of this colony; but if it were not for the gold she would be in the Insolvent Court long ago. It is however coming, and if we do not find more gold, and this in abundance, we shall feel hard times again. I am satisfied the colony is fast sinking into pecuniary difficulties. But let us look for proof, and the Registrar-General, I think, will again supply us with this said proof. (Written in 1868.)

POPULATION—1868 to 1869.

On the 31st December, 1868, our population was 466,765; to this number has been added, in the year 1869, by excess of births over deaths, 12,552, and by the number arriving over those departing from the colony, 6039; showing the estimated population on the 31st December, 1869, as 485,436, being an addition to that of 1868 of 18,591. The outlay for immigration paid out of our public Treasury from 1860 to 1869, is as follows, viz.—1860, £29,000 18s. 9d.; 1861, £20,033 15s. 8d.; 1862, “£63,356 10s. 6d;” 1863, “£83,486 17s. 2d.,” 1864, £25,987 6s. 7d.; 1865, £34,149 11s. 10d.; 1866, £23,224 15s. 5d.; 1867, £14,036 10s. 9d.; 1868, £11,202 17s. 2d.; 1869, £2395 12s. 2d. Salaries and allowances for Messrs. Parkes and Dalley, as agents and lecturers in the United Kingdom, 1862, £1273 6s. 11d., £1657 8s. 1d., £1649 10s. 5d., £3,203 1s. 1d.; and in 1863, £1955 1s., £202 0s. 2d.: total, £10,140 10s. 8d. to Henry Parkes and Mr. Dalley. Here is a nice way to throw away the public TREASURE! What thousands of pounds we have thus absolutely thrown clean away! And worse still; the poor deluded immigrants were shamefully disappointed on arrival to find no manufactories wherein they could be engaged at their own legitimate trades; hence they went where they chose, and, as stated above, many of them went mad; others left the colony, some took to menial occupations, and others left for the goldfields. Hence for years after, up to this day, few, and at last none, came to these colonies. At about this same period the Americans were receiving at the rate of about 7000 emigrants per week, not one of whom cost the Government one cent. There were left at Gladville Lunatic Asylum on 31st December, 1869, as many as 652 patients; at Parramatta on the same date, 1868, 482 patients; and on the same date (31st December, 1869), there were 490 lunatics! What may not the expenditure rise to were I to collect the amounts of all the other public institutions, penal and charitable. Criminals increased 129 more than in 1868.

The total value of our imports for the year 1870 was £7,757,281. This is a decrease of £635,472 on the previous year. There is also a large decrease in our export list, when compared with the previous year, viz.:—1869, £9,933,442; in 1870, £7,990,038. In the woollen manufactures there is exhibited a decrease of one mill and 46,434 yards on the previous year. Soap and candles show a decrease of 9031 cwt. of the former, and 4507 cwt. of the latter, as compared with the previous year (1869). Tobacco also shows a falling-off of 762 cwt. on the previous year. TALLOW AND LARD.—In 1870 there were slaughtered 290,696 sheep for boiling down, being 60,146 above 1869. (Would it not be better for the owners of flocks and herds to have a home consumption of the sheep by manufacturing and agricultural population?) Tallow exported, value £316,835; a decrease on 1869. COALS were valued at £20,060. COPPER raised, 358 tons. KEROSENE.—In this article there was an increased quantity manufactured, worth £27,570; an increase of £8820.

AGRICULTURE.

There is a very considerable diminution in all our principal agricultural products, as compared with the previous year. The importations of breadstuffs for the year (1870) were £387,226, including that from all parts of commerce, but a decrease on the previous year (1869) by £49,000.

Paper money in circulation, £742,400, against £787,312 in 1869; being a decrease of £44,822. Mint receipts also show a decrease of £104,757; and there

was a decrease in the issue of coin to the amount of £59,000, and of bullion to £17,090. The revenue of the Mint was £11,559; a decrease of £3,929 on the previous year (1869). The amount expended on our public works shows a decrease of no less than £174,012 on the previous year (1869), viz.:—1869, £952,524; in 1870, £778,512; decrease, £174,012. The Insolvent Court records show an increase of liabilities, on the part of our people, to the amount of £671,870; being £188,725 in excess of the year 1869. The public revenue shows a large decrease also. The land sales revenue shows a decrease of sales £17,155. The pastoral purchases were also decreased to the tune of 53,353 acres. There were 4471 selections. Here again is another decrease of free selection of land on the previous year of 68,010 acres. Our increase of population for years past has not kept pace with what our NATURAL increase would be under more favourable circumstances. No immigrants come to our shores now (fortunately for themselves and the colonists generally.) We want a teeming population truly, but certainly not a pauper population. The lunatics left at Tarban Creek Asylum on 31st December, 1869, numbered no less than 500; and at the Parramatta Lunatic Asylum there were left, on same date, as many as 698. The total cost of maintaining the Government lunatic asylums for the year 1870 was not less than £30,417 5s. 9d., a large increase on previous years. Charitable institutions cost, in 1870, £27,278 14s. 9d. The benevolence of the people of this colony is well tested by Government. 1871.—The lunatic establishments continue to increase their expenses. In 1871 they cost the Government £30,886 3s. 8d., being an increase on the previous year of £468 17s. 9d. Nor have the charitable institutions been able to reduce their expenditure. All these sadly adverse circumstances are, with few exceptions, entirely owing to very BAD GOVERNMENT—want of legitimate remunerative employment for the people. The importation of wheat and flour alone, amounted, in 1871, to the value of £541,648! and this is an INCREASE on the amount of the previous year of £154,422. Is not this a most shameful state of matters of fact? We have about 320,000 square miles of land, the greater part of which may by an industrious population and wise legislation be made to produce not only enough food, and all other first necessities of civilised life for the PRESENT and FUTURE inhabitants of this colony, but absolutely an abundant surplus for export and commercial purposes. But our producers, and thousands of men who would be producers of wheat, potatoes, maize, vegetables, &c., declare they cannot make these occupations produce sufficient returns to clear expenses; that the freight by rail is too high; that when their produce does reach Sydney, they find foreign supplies can by reason of cheaper labour, cheaper land, cheaper transit, and more abundant crops, undersell them. If high Protective duties were imposed on all imports of this nature we should soon witness a better state of things amongst our poor farmers, and free selectors would not then be suspected of improper motives. The price of wheat, flour, potatoes, &c., would most certainly rise. But this would engender a rush to farming occupations, when, I am sure, an abundant supply would follow; and this would lead to a wholesome competition and a rivalry in the quality of the article produced, as well as in a desire of immediate sale.

Thus, dear reader, we find New South Wales offers additional proof (if, indeed, any additional proof were required) of the suicidal policy of "Free-trade." This Free-trade system should be named the "wealth absorbing" system. The great, though transitory, wealth so suddenly extracted from our mines in 1870, '71, '72, circulating in this colony at this time in every class of the population, stimulating enterprise, commerce, and some industry, is but a repetition of what followed the first discovery of gold at the Ophir diggings, near Bathurst, in the year 1850, and only one year after the discovery of gold at California, yet New South Wales, with a population seven times more numerous, and in the full enjoyment of unrestricted "Free-trade" from 1850 to 1871 (the period under review), exhibits glaring symptoms of the most humiliating decline, distress, and general demoralisation of the industry of the inhabitants thereof. While California, with but a mere handful of people, and (according to the theory of "Free-traders") CRIPPLED with Protection duties of the very highest nature, is nevertheless advancing with gigantic strides in and to the most unrivalled state of wealth, power, prosperity, general industry, and commerce that civilised man has ever witnessed in so short a time in any other portion of the world. And this magnificent state of progressive

prosperity may be still more admired from the point of view that, while this colony possessed a settled population, with a settled constitution and Government, well built cities on substantial and elevated foundations, California was in a directly reverse condition. This will be seen from the abovenamed and indicated facts relative to San Francisco. Unfortunately the decline above exhibited—in the extracts from the Registrar-General's Records of the "Commerce and Trade" of New South Wales, including the years 1868 and 1869—does NOT arise from any increased or increasing manufacturing or agricultural industry in this colony, which would, in this latter case, account for the very general falling-off of our imports and exports of the various manufactures therein estimated. No, no! alas! but to the absolute want of means to purchase—so generally felt in those years—not only by the producing class, but by all classes of the community, and amongst them the Colonial Treasurer, who, about that period, publicly declared he could not find money to pay "INTEREST" of the public debt; and we have seen that the public works of this colony were comparatively at a standstill for want of money to pay the contractors, and, therefore, the Government had recourse, so often repeated, to the "loan office!"

The free importation of all our necessities of life, including not only wheat, flour, tea and sugar, and all the other articles above enumerated, but heavy cannon also, to be stuck upon a lofty eminence, most powerfully indicating the absolute imbecility and folly of the people of New South Wales, with many other acts of similarly needless, fruitless, extravagant expenditure, has continued for many long years, till at last the importers themselves were reluctantly forced to conclude, from the decline in the sale of their imports, that they had tapped the main root of our "money supply" too often, and that consequently it would be an act of folly in themselves to continue importations to a colony without means of purchasing. Thus our money went. Hence our own labourers', our own producers' want of any remunerative employment; hence the want of money amongst the producing class; thence, and from thence almost exclusively, arose the want of money amongst the non-producing classes, including every department of the public service. When the producing class are poor, the whole country, with the Government included, will be in the same ratio poor. When the people cannot purchase land, the land revenue will be depressed. When the producer gets money to spare to purchase land, as a matter of fact the land revenue will thus be increased. The pastoralist who breeds fat stock for the food of man, who could, if he chose, create a local market, a home consumption enough and more than enough to consume all he can produce now or in time to come, by merely encouraging the agricultural and manufacturing industries of his fellow-colonists, but who, instead, goes into the factories of foreign nations for his boots, shoes, clothing, blankets, furniture, and every article of food, fashion, and necessities of life, is guilty thus of an act of folly and injury to his own and his children's best interests, and of course to the other branches of the various productions. The increase of population is what all stockbreeders as well as others should endeavour to ensure; if this population be not employed and thereby supplied with the means of purchase, they will surely become a burden to support, or quit the country, and you lose your market. If this population be employed at remunerative rates of wages, they will not only finally settle on the land, but will also multiply in numbers and wealth, and thus ensure a permanent local market for the consumption of your live stock, and it will follow that, after a time of high rates, a time of rivalry and competition will follow, and prices will find a proper and reasonable level. This competition between our own producers will not do a nation any injury, as we shall still have the money in the colonial bank, with this difference only, that it has changed hands and names! But the competition our colonial manufacturers are subjected to is very different. It is shamefully wrong. It is forcing man to work against steampower of the most perfect description and gigantic power, or starve. It is cruelly inconsistent and unnatural, as well as impoverishing to the individual and to the nation. It is a competition of life or death for the weak; life if he desert it, and find some other employment or country, but certain death if he continue the unequal struggle. Machinery must conquer, but when to machinery is added cheap labour, there can be no question as to which article will be the most cheaply produced, that of manual labour, or that of machinery and cheap labour together. But this is the sort of competition

now going on in these colonies. Our own manufacturers are kept close to work at comparatively low rates of wages, and the employers, for their very lives almost, cannot pay more, as the keenest calculation and profits amply testify. This is forced on our manufacturers to impede, and this they can scarcely do, merely impede the glutting of our markets with the productions of foreigners of every conceivable community, in order to take all the money they possibly can out of this colony. This "Free-trade" system has most truly demoralised our industry, and to such an extent that it will take years of a better system and wiser government to conciliate the manufacturing and agricultural classes of this community.

It is lamentably mournful to all true Australian patriots to witness the melancholy state of all the main roads of the colony where the railway has gone. There are numerous deserted fine buildings, evidently once the dwellings of comfortable and happy families, with all necessary outhouses, stables, orchards, vegetable gardens, stockyards and paddocks, cultivation paddocks, slaughtering sheds, &c., now in perfect ruins; not a soul in sight or within hearing of a cooeey; the fences may be supported by makeshifts, exhibiting manifest signs of the hopeless, despairing despondency of the owner. Ride into the bush (if you can), and for miles upon miles you do not see a soul, nor any sign of the habitation of man. In the vicinity of a town you may meet a few bark huts of the most wretched description, by the side or in front of which will, in some cases, be found a little enclosure for potatoes and other necessary vegetables, and perhaps a peach tree or two; in some instances you may find some improvement on this, but they will form the exceptions. Such, dear reader, is the faithful account of the condition of the greater part of our poor farmers. For a living, I can scarcely say how it can be obtained by them. They are mostly engaged by contractors for road works; they carry on the roads; they fence for squatters; and as a very little is required by them, this little is thus supplied; they also generally have a few head of cattle, and a horse or two to ride. But the most remarkable feature amongst these farmers is the absolute, entire absence of any considerable cultivation of wheat, oats, maize, potatoes, cabbages, or anything indicating the presence of a comfortable people. As for growing breadstuffs, &c., for the supply of the home market, no such idea ever enters the brain of such men. So many years of free importations of flour, potatoes, cabbages, &c., have isolated such ideas in their minds. Nevertheless it is a well-known fact that these men cannot be surpassed in any occupation they find to pay them; they are a most hardworking race of people, male and female. Satisfy them that they will be protected and get a paying price for their crops, and I will defy any man to show they are not a most hardworking class of people, male and female. If they could be made to believe that a paying market would be surely secured to them, I am fully convinced—from years of personal practical knowledge and experience in the country—that the poor farmers of New South Wales would duly provide all the breadstuffs the population may require from year to year, as well as all other necessities of agriculture for a manufacturing population. It is not the poor and uneducated hardworking producers, but their Parliamentary representatives, that are to blame for the sad want of energy and enterprise exhibited by our farmers and general producers. It is the same feeling of want of confidence in the Government that prevents other branches of industry being projected and established in our midst. What greater proof of the correctness of these statements need be offered or sought than the Fitzroy Iron and Coal Mine, with the expensive smelting and other works that have been constructed at Nattai for the manufacture of iron? In the first instance the freight by train is too high: it is absolutely prohibitory. It will cost more to bring a ton of iron to Sydney from the Fitzroy works than from England to Sydney. The timber traders of those districts are also excluded from the Sydney market by reason of the railway freight on timber. Hence there does not one truckload in a year come to Sydney from Picton, only fifty-three miles. But these are local obstructions: and in addition to the above and many other obstructions the Fitzroy iron is not protected from the foreigners. The Free-trade system allows foreign iron to land on our shores free of any duty; and it having been produced by cheap labour and perfect, powerful machinery in old, well-established factories, our manufacturers, being unable to withstand the competition, closed their establishment and are idle. Again, as regards our poor farmers, it is well known they cannot all seasons

depend on obtaining a good or reasonably fair crop from their ground, and it is imperatively necessary the better to secure success for them to sow a crop of some other article likely to repay the labourer; hence tobacco has been gone into. But how has the poor farmer got on with his tobacco product? In 1868 the tobacco crop covered 875 acres against 626 acres in the year before, producing an increase of 1890 cwt. In 1863 the American war between North and South was raging, and during that period 15,315 cwt. of our colonial tobacco was returned as the yield of that year, which, in consequence of the small quantity imported, met a ready and well-paying market. But, alas! this luck for our poor farmers was not destined to last long. No sooner was peace declared and the war at an end, than the renewed imports of American tobacco swelled our stock very considerably, and at once checked the infant enterprise of our tobacco industry, and in this renewed state of adverse circumstances our own growers had to find "SOME OTHER OCCUPATION." Wheat and flour the same: the imports will not allow our people to rise above the level of slave labour. (We have seen flour imported from Valparaiso and California sold in New South Wales at 5s. per 100 lbs.: it would cost more to carry ours to Sydney). We import all we consume—wheat, flour, sugar, tobacco, wines, fruit, potatoes, cabbages, hay, &c., and keep our own farmers idle or with very little to do, and poor pay for that little. The same with our artisans, our manufacturers; we import all our clothes, boots, hats, furniture, carriages, iron, ironwares, &c., and hence we need no manufacturers. Now I should like to know what employment, and where it is to be found, New South is going to provide for the poor immigrants about to be decoyed from their native homes by means of agents? I most fearlessly assert it is entirely out of the power of the Government to find employment for farm labourers or artisans.

The boiling-down establishments in 1868, had increased from forty to forty-nine. The number of sheep and cattle slaughtered for tallow during each year was as follows, viz. :—

	Sheep.				Cattle.			
1864	39,927	...	...	...	60,690
1865	10,067	...	...	...	44,103
1866	—	2,868
1867	54,862	...	...	...	3,842
1868	179,498	...	...	...	1,579

The high price of meat in the year 1866 accounts for the decrease in the slaughter for boiling-down purposes.

I have written of the great natural wealth of this colony, and of the ability of our farmers and manufacturers to produce enough and to spare of every necessary of life; but I must include the squatters and other live-stock breeders. All old colonists, and many new arrivals, will admit the ability of our pastoralists to produce a superabundant supply of meat, hides, tallow, wool, skins, horns, &c., not only for the various manufactures, &c., of the present number of the population, but for generations to come. And in the deepest sincerity I feel much sorrow for the past necessity of the squatting interest being forced to have recourse to the boiling-down of their stock for the miserable returns of the tallow proceeds.

We have had enterprising men of experience and capital attempting to establish woollen-factories in the colony in the face of the Free-trade system. For many years Messrs. Byrnes, of Parramatta, have been engaged in this business, and, I regret to have to record, with too little success. Mr. Barker had a woollen-factory in Sydney, and he allowed it to pass into other hands; and the present occupier has been endeavouring for years to obtain a revision of the tariff, but in vain. The paper-mills, and our ironworks, are all either shut up or dragging on a most sickly existence. Why? Because the people of foreign countries manufacture for us. This is the exclusive cause of our want of population. This is the exclusive cause why the squatters are forced to boil down their live stock in such vast numbers. This is the exclusive cause why our Government had, and will again have, to go BORROWING money, not only to pay the public servants their salaries, but absolutely to pay the INTEREST on the public debt; this is the exclusive cause why the Government are forced to give such vast sums of money to emigration LECTURERS, agents and shipowners, to bring a population to our shores; and I am prepared to prove from the history of not only all the civilised

nations of this globe, but also from the past experience of this colony, that this is the exclusive cause why this very expensive population fail to find, on their arrival here, any employment to encourage them to settle on the land or to remain in this colony.

REID'S ESSAY.

The *Argus* of 15th November, 1876, has a long article of about two columns, headed "Review:" "The Mother Colony," being an extract from "An Essay on New South Wales, the Mother Colony of Australia," by G. H. Reid, Esq., on which much important reliance is placed by the *Argus*, and, doubtless, by all the Free-traders of Sydney and Melbourne. Here is one portion of the said article, and the SPECIAL ONE of prior importance (?) ACCORDING to the *Argus*, viz:—"Mr. Reid's comments upon the strange perversity of our own colony in tram-melling herself with a restrictive policy, and in endeavouring to build up an artificial system of manufactures in the face of the fact that we are destitute of coal; and, as compared with New South Wales, are poor in all the other essential minerals," adding that, "were it not for the Riverina trade, the evils of the policy of Victoria would already be too obvious to be disputed. Strengthened and stimulated by Free-trade, New South Wales LAST year surpassed VICTORIA in the EXPORTS of her own produce for the FIRST TIME SINCE 1851! And if this does not open the eyes of our local Protectionists to the way in which the mother colony is forging ahead of us, let them TURN to pp. 129 and 130 of Mr. Reid's Essay, and there read the following STARTLING comparisons:—

REID'S POPULATION ESSAY.

POPULATION.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales ...	502,861	...	606,652	...	20½ per cent.
Victoria ...	726,599	...	828,449	...	13 "

REVENUE.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales...	£2,102,697	...	£4,126,303*	...	96 per cent.
Victoria ...	3,261,883	...	4,215,524	...	30 "

EXPORTS.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales...	£6,267,729	...	£11,494,549	...	83 per cent.
Victoria ...	9,103,323	...	11,571,806	...	16 "

SHIPPING.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales...	1,461,762 tons	...	2,168,187 tons	...	48 per cent.
Victoria ...	1,344,862 "	...	1,673,885 "	...	25 "

LAND SALES.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales...	423,691 acres	...	2,814,000 acres	...	564 per cent.
Victoria ...	337,507 "	...	415,561 "	...	24 "

BANK DEPOSITS†.					
	1870.		1875.		Increase.
New South Wales...	£6,107,999	...	£13,650,892	...	123 per cent.
Victoria ...	10,899,026	...	13,734,967	...	26 "

The apparent exultations of all Free-trade papers, including the *Argus*, over these truly fortunate (for New South Wales) and equally accidental occurrences, are not only unwise, unwarranted, uncalled for, and far-fetched, but will be,

* Taxation only £1 18s. 3d. per head. The revenue of New South Wales for the year ending 30th September, 1876, reached the sum of £4,759,500.

† Exclusive of Savings' Banks, whose total deposits are about the same.

I deeply regret, wofully transitory. It reminds me forcibly of the poor little orphan girl accustomed to rage and starvation, &c., who, having received a Christmas present in the shape of a nice new frock, was so extremely pleased she became dangerously excited, running here and there everywhere, calling to her little companions to "look at my new frock;" and in this state she did not notice a cab which knocked her into the gutter and tore her frock, as well as inflicted an unwelcome wound. Had the above increase of prosperity been the result of good and wise government, I should be one of the first to give honour to whom honour is due. But as I know the polity of New South Wales is not such as can lead this colony to the rank among nations that her natural wealth demands, and that the present prosperity is but accidental and transitory, I can not, and hence I will not, join such a foolish exultation as is exhibited in Mr. Reid's essay, and unduly blazoned forth to the gaze of the world by the *Argus*, I can point back to the contents of this book, to the wise observations of the Registrar-General of New South Wales, to the similar prosperity of this colony in the year 1851 from similar causes; to the newly discovered deposits of gold at the Ophir, near Bathurst, and to my own conclusions therefrom, relative to the gradual decline of not only individual and general prosperity, but also to the decline of national or government prosperity, to warrant my conclusions now, December, 1876, that unless the Protectionist system of legislation be adopted by New South Wales, she cannot prosper, she cannot progress to the extent that her unrivalled natural wealth leads to. That Mr. Reid's statistical comparisons above shown are far-fetched, and the prosperity stated unstable and transitory, I need but call the attention of all reasonable and unprejudiced thinking men to the Registrar-General's statistical records, say for ten years,—previously to the last discoveries of metallic deposits in New South Wales—from 1860 to 1870, and then to the enormous wealth unearthed in the years 1871-2-3-4-5, the maniacal rush of capitalists for the Crown lands offices and the Colonial Treasury in these years, to amply account for the sudden increases above shown by Mr. Reid. Absolutely the whole staff of clerks at the Colonial Treasury could scarcely receive and count the money as fast as it was thrown on the counters thereof by almost every class, creed, and colour of the population then rolling headlong into New South Wales. I must give the Hon. John Robertson credit for his late attempt, as well as his former one, to secure a fair share of this migratory population by his wise sale of Crown lands during the said influx of money into the hands of the working classes. In the years 1868-9 and 70, the condition of New South Wales was very little better than in the years 1849-50. In 1871 the golden reefs at Hill End and Solferino, the tin and copper mines, were disgorging their vast treasures. The natural consequences are those exhibited in Mr. Reid's essay on the mother country of New South Wales. How very humiliating it will be for the author of such vain and empty trumpeting, as well as the *Argus* and all other Free-trade newspapers, when only a few years more it will be seen from the records of the colonies that New South Wales prosperity and Free-trade shall not, cannot, keep up with the steady, sure, and certain progressively advancing general and prosperous development of the resources of Victoria. That this young colony, Victoria, was enabled by her Protectionist legislation and other wise enactments for the exclusive benefit of her own population, to exhibit (in the columns of a hostile paper) such grand and unquestionably flattering results as are seen in the above comparisons with the enormous wealth of the coal, iron, tin, copper, gold, silver, wools, hides, skins, tallow, horns, bones, bark, timber, tobacco, wines, corn, butter, fruits, &c., and with an area close on four times the size of Victoria possessed by New South Wales, is a standing glaring reproach to the rulers of that colony, and, at the same time, a most glorious monument of what may be very reasonably claimed as a victory for Protection over Free-trade. Relatively to the savings banks deposits, though I am very pleased to learn that my poor fellow-colonists were enabled to save a few pounds each, to gather up the fragments left of the loaves and fishes—it is nevertheless additional proof that there do not exist in New South Wales such numerous chances and encouragement for the working classes to invest their money in reproductive industries as are found all over Victoria. The Victorian workman makes his money work beside him, in union with him, increasing tenfold the miserable interest allowed in savings banks.

This is doubtless the true cause of so little money being in the savings banks in Victoria. I had arrived at this conclusion before I saw Mr. Reid's essay, only a few days ago, and then only for a half-hour; but when I found Mr. Reid could descend to place 1870 in comparison with 1875, and attempt to deceive the thoughtless by affirming that these results were the offspring of Free-trade, I returned the work to its owner. The poorest year 1870, to be compared with the wealthiest—1875, with said object in view, was more than I was quite prepared to hear, and I have no desire to see it any more.

Were there a high duty imposed on all imported manufactures, including woollens, I cannot see how these factories should fail. We have not any reason to fear failure in any manufacturing industry for home consumption if our governing men were only to act intelligently and firmly. But they are too dependent, and untrained in political study, ever to do any good for this colony.

Instead of taxing the manufactures imported, so as to encourage our own artizans, this Government absolutely let the manufactured articles in free, and tax the raw material our own manufacturers need, such as sheet-tin, oil or machinery, &c.; thus placing greater obstacles than previously existed, to the success of our own people.

If sheet tin, oil, and other raw materials necessary in manufacturing, were admitted free of any duty, and a stiff duty imposed on tinware, woollens, &c., we would soon witness a vast improvement in those factories and those employed therein; we would also see their numbers increasing; and the general prosperity of the WOOL-GROWER and the woollen manufacturers would be permanent and safe from the export charges, risks, delays, &c.

In 1861 the most wise enactment for the general welfare of this colony, was passed by our Legislature at the instance of the Honourable John Robertson; it was the "Free Selection Before Survey Bill," of which I wrote above ten years ago as the first step in the right direction for a settlement of a yeomanry population on our soil. I then did, as I do now, advocate a free gift of the land to all *bonâ fide* resident cultivators of the land. At this period Mr. Henry Parkes was a Protectionist, but on his return from England, he stated he had been converted to the Free-trade policy by Richard Cobden in a five minutes' interview with that gentleman. I have also seen that the Cobden Club have presented Mr. Henry Parkes with a testimonial of their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by him to the cause of Free-trade.

Now, I am prepared to defy Mr. Parkes, or the Cobden Club, or any other Free-trade Club on the face of the earth, to point out any colony or nation that ever rose to a state of prosperity by means of Free-trade! England is NOT an instance. Her manufactures were protected up to the date of the repeal of the Corn Laws. And even though I were to grant that such was not the truth, but that she was a PERFECTLY Free-trade nation, it will be manifest to all well-read politicians, that England's greatest source of prosperity was almost exclusively her superior Naval Power; enabling her to glut not only foreign markets but her helpless possessions with her manufactures, and the other products of her colonial dependencies which were carried by British-built shipping to every nation on the globe. The Navigation Laws of England that were introduced by Oliver Cromwell were the true foundation of British wealth, power, and prosperity. See for instance, again, what Holland's navigation did for the Dutch. She, it is well known, did not have as much timber growing on her soil as would build a single boat: no mines, no manufactures, no reproductive industries beyond her fisheries. Yet she was the undisputed mistress of the seas of the world: she held the commerce of the world at her beck and call: she was the sea carrier for every nation of any note in the civilised world. And were it not for the wisdom of Cromwell and his Long Parliament, the legislative wisdom of England in those days, it must be manifest to all unprejudiced men of sound mind, that no mere Free-trade system could ever have raised England to the proud standing among nations of the earth which she now glories in. With the Dutch shipping monopolising the carrying-trade of the world, the English would have made no better show on earth than does the little populous and very industrious manufacturing nation, Belgium. Nor will I grant that England would make an equal show of prosperity with Belgium, if she (England) were to embrace, from her first manufacturing periods, a system of Free-trade. No, no, the cheaper labour of the

Continental States would crush her attempts in the very bud. England would, under such a state of adverse circumstances, exhibit a second volume of what Ireland now is, and not one jot better, if indeed so good.

Nor is France an instance. She has ever upheld the Protectionist system; till lately when Napoleon saw he could secure the British markets for the sale of silks, gloves, wines, and other French manufactures, at the expense of the English nation, under a reciprocity treaty which was foolishly enough granted to the French. In short, there is not a nation on the globe that the Cobden Club can name as an example of prosperity permanent and progressive, as they acknowledge that of the United States of America, including California, is, or anything near it.

But what will Mr. Henry Parkes think of the following statements, confessions, and acknowledgments of his patrons, the "Cobden Club," which I have extracted for publication in these pages? Here they are: "COBDEN CLUB ESSAYS," second series, 1871-2.—"Prior to the breaking out of the civil war in 1861, the United States of America were in the anomalous position of a GREAT NATION! practically UNENCUMBERED with a national or public debt!! excise, stamps, income, and direct property TAXES under the Federal Government, were absolutely UNKNOWN. The EXPENSES of a simple and economical administration BEING DEFRAYED almost ENTIRELY by indirect taxes or DUTIES, LEVIED FOR the PROTECTIVE PURPOSES in the form of a TARIFF ON the IMPORTATIONS of ALL FOREIGN GOODS and MERCHANDISE. The average rate of duties imposed on the aggregate value of foreign importations during the thirty years immediately preceding 1860, was about 40 per cent., but for a portion of the time the average rate was somewhat less. But notwithstanding this limitation of the sources and amount of income, the requirements of the National Government for military, naval, and civil purposes of expenditure, and the payment of the principal and interest of any debt, were so moderate, that the receipts of the Treasury continually tended to exceed its disbursements. And the difficulty which most frequently presented itself to the financial administrator was not the customary one of how to avoid an annual deficit, but rather HOW TO MANAGE TO ESCAPE an inconvenient and indispensable SURPLUS!! And it is a curious fact and one perhaps altogether unprecedented in history, that from the year 1837 to 1857, there was not a single year in which the unexpended balance in the National Treasury—derived from various sources—at the end of the year, was not in excess of one-half of the total expenditure of the preceding year; while in not a few years the unexpected balance was absolutely greater than the sum of the entire expenditure of the whole twelve months preceding!! To provide for these continually accruing surplus funds, pending any final conclusion, they were placed in the local small banks with reiterated instructions to loan liberally to merchants. In 1836, the surplus revenue then in the National Treasury amounted to something more, 28,000,000 dollars. This amount of surplus revenue was divided amongst the various States of the Union, by Act of Congress; and by each State among the public institutions, principally for educational purposes. Again, in 1854, the Treasury of the United States, by reason of its superabundant revenue, entered into the money market, and bought up in advance of maturity its own 6 per cent. bonds issued in 1848, to defray the expenses of the war with Mexico, at a coin premium of 20 per cent. in excess of their par value. It may be useful to go back to briefly state the average annual expenditure of the United States for all ordinary purposes, from the commencement of their very existence as a nation, to the period of the breaking out of the civil war in 1861. Thus, commencing with an expenditure in 1792,—the first year of an accurate reported statement under the constitution—of 1,877,000 dollars, the net ordinary expenditure increased to 4,623,000 dollars in 1798; 6,504,000 dollars in 1808; and 13,134,000 dollars in 1820; the expenditure rising temporarily during the war with Great Britain, 1812 to 1813, to a much higher figure. During the decade from 1812 to 1831, the average annual ordinary expenditure of the United States was 12,390,000 dollars; from 1831 to 1841, 27,740,000 dollars; from 1841 to 1851, 33,760,000 dollars; from 1851 to 1861, 57,870,000 dollars."—So much from the Cobden Club!

Hear what the *Sydney Morning Herald* states in a leading article on the wool rates, viz:—"One of the most certain tests of the state of trade in any country may be found by a comparison of exports with imports. The extent of the exports of a country represents more or less accurately the extent of its productions; whereas the excess of imports represents the extent of its dependence on the pro-

ducts of other countries." Again, speaking of the general depression in trade and commerce and manufactures, it goes on to say: "It is very evident that in England, at least, the depression in trade does not arise from any want of money. The moneyed class appear to have more gold than they know what to do with. But the markets are in absolute want of it." After enumerating many suggestions and affirmations as to the causes of this great depression, it confesses this (and this confession is NOT intentionally in behalf of Protective legislation), viz.: "But though this present state of commerce may be traced to many causes, all of them, by modes more or less directly, point to the unproductiveness of capital as the prime mover! The rule of trade that governs the labourer is exactly the rule that governs the capitalist, with this difference however, that the capitalist can keep his money and live; whereas the labourer who is unemployed loses the means of living. The capitalist invests his capital just as the artisan invests his muscle, not for the good either will do, but for the profits it will bring. When investments ceased to pay, by a very natural sequence they cease to exist." The simple fact is, England has glutted every available market with her manufactures, and drained them of every spare penny; and the manufacturers, exporters, and importers find the depression general, and cannot see the cause; or will not see the cause. They are bringing every British possession down to the level of the Irish poor. The East Indies are the most wealthy under British sway, and there human labour, skilled artisans, may be had for 3d. per day; and their condition is fully below the poorest Irish. Hence capitalists keep their money in the banks rather than give it in wages for labour that will no longer pay any interest; hence the willingness of the labourer to accept a reduced wage. When this is the case in England, what may not be the case with New South Wales? especially if the gold, tin, and copper mines fail, and they will not last for ever; also the injudicious wholesale alienation of the public estate. These resources at present keep this colony afloat, but when the time comes that we shall have no more Crown lands to sell, nor gold, tin, or copper to supply the colonial treasury with funds to squander on immigration, imports, &c., the electors of New South Wales will be forced to feel and sustain the weight of direct taxes. Unless indeed they do immediately rise and put a full stop to all assisted emigration, free imports (Free-trade) and the present land sales. And again, the *Herald* continues, "A similar crisis prevails in Germany. The enormous expenditure on the army of that country has largely drained the supplies of commerce, and the five milliards of indemnity money which Germany received from France have led to all kinds of new and extravagant expenditure among the German people. One result of this has been a large DEMAND for ARTICLES WHICH GERMANY DOES NOT PRODUCE! Following this there has been of necessity a VAST EXCESS of IMPORTS OVER exports, which has meant any amount of money going out of the country, and but little left for internal and economic development. The inevitable result has been any amount of failures of houses and the throwing out of employment of any amount of workmen." The most sad loss at all times and in all nations, generally falls upon the producers. Is it not, therefore, most prudent for every people to prevent such sad occurrences? The people of New South Wales are receiving timely notice and warning—from the experiences of other nations—of what they may expect, in the event of continued reckless "Free-trade." It may be dreadful.

It is confidently asserted that unless the terms of the labourer are moderated by the lengthening of the hours of labour and its cost reduced, the trade of England must decline and disappear. "During the present year, we are told," the *Herald* continues, "all attempts of trades' unions to resist reduction of wages have been more or less defeated, and the decrease of employment has enabled the masters to get rid of the less efficient hands, and thus amend the circumstances of production. The lowering of the cost of labour will in all probability tend to the lowering of the cost of living."—*Sydney Morning Herald*, 25th August, 1876.

Now, dear reader, you will admit that I have already foretold this state of things in the foregone pages of this book. English manufacturers cannot compete against the Continental cheap manual labour, now that the aid of perfect machinery and capital has been introduced there also. England must prepare herself to endure reverses at least in her trade and commerce with foreign nations. They no longer need the vast importations of manufactures that they did in former

years. They manufacture now for themselves; and, what is more, they have established their factories under the never-failing wisdom of a strict Protectionist system of legislation, till they can afford when they chose to open these ports for the Free-trade of the world, and the English nation CANNOT compete with them, at least on their own shores, in their own markets. But in order to keep out of England the manufactures of France, Germany, Belgium, United States of America, East Indies, and other nations, the British workman finds himself reduced to the necessity of stooping to the level of the CHEAP LABOUR of more densely populated countries, to be no better paid, no better fed, no better clothed, lodged, or cared for than the slaves of foreign nations. Nevertheless, the repeal of the Corn Laws was not only wise but just TOWARDS the poor manufacturers of England. For this reason only, that all their earnings by the best European wages did not suffice to give them enough bread, meat, &c., to eat and clothe themselves and their families. The repeal of the Corn Laws opened the ports of England for the reception of foreign grain, flour, and other food for man; also facilitated the exchange of Mr. Cobden's Manchester goods, cottons, woollens, &c., as by this time ALL the manufactures of England were principally executed by STEAM-POWER MACHINERY, defying competition from any nation on earth, and they were, therefore, most cheaply made. If England did not grow her own cotton, wool, &c., her own ships brought it from her own colonies on roads that never need repair; and she paid for them by the exchange of her own manufactures at rates—ah! yes, at rates too well known to the colonial producers. The English artisan was now in this favourable position. He got the highest wages in Europe, permanent employment, and food at rates so LOW, as comparatively were never before known in England. They were still well PROTECTED from foreign labourers—who, perchance only, may in those days of national hostility, or jealousy, feel inclined to seek better wages,—by the still UNREPEALED laws relating to foreigners, and the Navigation laws. By the means of the perfect machinery, iron, coal, tin, &c., the supremacy of the seas, and the number and dependence of her possessions, England was for many years thus enabled to undersell and supply nearly every nation. As a matter of fact, the English people, from the lowest to the highest, accumulated unprecedented wealth. And the princely income of capitalists and manufacturers was absolutely limited only by their own personal energy and industry.

But a day of reckoning for England has at last arrived, and no candid man will regret it, or at least, deny it. English selfishness has precipitated her own present manufacturers' distress. England impoverished every nation under her power by over-trading, over-stocking, over-bleeding her colonies of every available farthing, and even plunged them into debt, that they must pay for her over-stocking them with manufactures. In addition to this unwelcome, though merited issue of her public affairs, all foreign nations have now no cause to purchase English manufactures; they manufacture for themselves; and more, they protect their productions by absolutely PROHIBITIVE custom-house duties. Foreign nations have now steam-power machinery as well as England; and more, they have a far greater population, and this great population are ever used to very low rates of wages and very long hours of work. Many of those nations have also raw materials which England has not. But the greatest blow of all that the English artisans have received, has absolutely been given by the REPEAL of the Navigation Laws and the Commercial Treaty with France, or the Free-trade system.

As I have taken so much trouble and expended so much time in composing this book, for no other reason than to support my statements relative to the superior wisdom of a Protective system of legislation for New South Wales, and have thus been drawn, as it were, into a review of English manufacturing prospects, first under a system of strict Protection and now under a system of Free-trade—I find it may be prudent to insert a few extracts from the Annual Register of England, 1848, chap. III., page 65, from a speech by Mr. Labouchere, M.P., minister of the Government and President of the Board of Trade, on THE REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS. He said:—"It the reign of Richard the Second the first navigation law in the English code appeared; and it enacted broadly 'that no subject of the King should ship any merchandise outwards or homewards in any ships but those of the King's liegence, on pain of forfeiting all the merchandise so shipped.' Owing to increasing commercial prosperity (he,

Mr. Labouchere admits) and the difficulty of obtaining sufficient tonnage in British-built ships, this Act was found to be too strong and was soon altered. Foreign ships were allowed to take freight, if English ships could not be found. Some years after, reasonable freight charges, and, later still, a tariff of maximum freight charges, were enacted for ships going between England and the chief ports of Europe. A system of exclusive monopoly lasted, with very little modification, to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when a new principle was engrafted upon the law—the principle of PROTECTION by differential duties. During all Elizabeth's reign this principle was adopted and acted upon throughout Europe, with but one exception. HOLLAND, by a system of unrestricted freedom—by making her marshes the home of every citizen of the world who chose to seek them—built up a most magnificent fabric of commercial greatness and political power that, up to that time, the world had never before seen. In Elizabeth's time our coasting trade was, for the first time, made a close monopoly under this Protective system. The trade with our colonies, which THEN FIRST GREW IMPORTANT, was placed in the same position. With the Commonwealth commenced the system which attained full development in the Navigation Act of CHARLES THE SECOND. Its principle was monopoly, jealousy, and exclusiveness (jealousy as regarded the Dutch.) ITS ENDS were to make the British Empire SELF-SUPPORTING and SELF-RELYING. Its leading features have existed to this present day (he continues), though many successive events have interfered with its GRAND AIM!" (Page 65.) Again, this minister of the British Government says:—"A great colonial trade suddenly became a FOREIGN trade, when the Independence of America was acknowledged. Any self-supporting power till then enjoyed by England was thus DESTROYED. As a first INSTANCE and CONSEQUENCE—(this man, bear in mind, fellow-Australians, is advocating the abolishment of the 'Navigation Laws' that he previously acknowledged were wise and for a grand end),—when the great intercolonial traffic, which had hitherto existed between the United States of America and the West Indies, was cut off, grievous embarrassments arose. No fewer than 15,000 slaves perished between 1780 and 1787, from sheer want of accustomed supplies of food from America." (So much for the BOASTED independence of England; not to mention her dependent position on her colonies for cotton, sugar, coffee, tobacco, wool, hides, tallow, and, above all, on Australian GOLD, copper, tin, &c.—F.G.S.) "Nor," continues this MINISTER, THIS PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, "could this be remedied till England allowed America free access to our British West India Islands, when necessary supplies poured in to the great relief of famishing thousands." With regard to our colonial trade, he says—"It is throughout the Empire confined to the medium of British and kept quite to ourselves; and the entire crew must be British, excluding even the Lascar." (Page 66.)

(It is well to notice the reply to the above speech of a "FREE-TRADE" ministry advanced by Lord George Bentinck in his place in Parliament; not that I, F. G. S., blame the English Government for their FREE-TRADE policy towards those starving thousands. No, no; that was an absolutely imperative duty. No, but Lord George Bentinck's observations throw a light upon one or two instances of the loss sustained by the English through THIS ONE FREE-TRADE ACTION, through this manifest exposure of the utter dependence of England in many of the most vital necessities of life. This utter dependence on the "PROTECTIONIST" system will be more amply and irresistibly exposed presently from the actions of Mr. Gladstone. F. G. S.)

Lord George Bentinck, a Protectionist Liberal, said,—“The result of throwing open the West Indian trade to America in 1822, and in 1842, was the loss to this country of 60,000 tons, and the increase to America by 140,000 tons. Ought not this House to wait for further experience of the 'Free-trade' system before it struck such a blow to the shipping interests of this country? It had not been shown that any interests were discontented, but that of our NORTH AMERICAN colonies, who, having been SHORN OF PROTECTION TO THEIR TIMBER AND CORN, naturally enough, now turn round on us and demand facilities of conveyance for their products.”

Australians, you will perceive that England continued her PROTECTIONIST system up to 1848, with the single exception of the corn trade between America and the West Indies; that while England CUT OFF PROTECTION FROM her own

people in CANADA, she refused to allow them to engage foreign (cheap) tonnage. England allowed the foreigner to bring his CHEAP LABOUR products in his CHEAP MANNED SHIPS to ENGLAND, but NOT to any other part of the British Empire; and, further, they were allowed to land in England FREE OF DUTY, hence the Canadian demand for a modification of the Navigation Laws as regarded themselves.—F. G. S.) Mr. Ricardo, M.P., said,—“Great discrepancy existed in the rates of passages charged in England and at Bremen for emigrants to Australia. The fare in England was some £20 a head; at Bremen, it was £12 a head. The English shipping had a monopoly of freights to the colonies.” Mr. Mitchell, M.P., supported these statements. Surely this is extra proof, if indeed any were needed, that ENGLISH interests, of every nature and description, were most fully guarded and PROTECTED by every Government from the earliest reigns of English monarchs down to 1848. I say, “ENGLISH INTERESTS” of EVERY nature, only from the fact of England excluding her colonists from equal advantages enjoyed by RESIDENTS in ENGLAND. From my own point of view, which I maintain is the correct one, even for England to pursue towards her possessions, or, at least, towards her OWN COLONIES, I hold England did NOT act wisely (in her selfishness) towards her possessions by reason of her NEGLECT of her DUTY as well as of her BEST INTERESTS in NOT ENCOURAGING and PROTECTING the INDUSTRIES of each of her respective colonies. Had England acted thus, she would have had wealthy progressive industries established in each colony, who would look to England as their protector and supporter; then, indeed, England’s (vain) boast of having so many dependencies (?) would have some weight and respect. As matters of fact are now, too plainly for England, visible, the colonies are, what they ever were since founded or possessed by England, her “SUPPORTS,” and NOT her DEPENDENCIES. Nevertheless, were I a resident in England, and my earthly interests identified in ENGLAND, I should also be a strict Protectionist. I would extend Protection to my fellow-workers in England even against my acquaintances in the colonies, on the home-saying principle, “SELF FIRST,” colonists NEXT, certainly NOT foreigners next. This has ever been the wise policy of every nation on earth except—as before oft repeated—poor IRELAND and detestable TURKEY: but even these exceptions are the doings of the English. Mr. Labouchere (the above speaker, the President of the Board of Trade), it will be observed, did NOT show ONE INSTANCE of DEPRESSION in ENGLAND, arising out of either PROTECTION to home or native industries; or from the Navigation Laws. No, but he admitted the reverse was the fact; that, owing to the increasing prosperity of the nation, sufficient British shipping could NOT be had, &c. And so wise were they found to be (for England), that every succeeding monarch of England not only adopted them, but increased the numbers and stringency thereof from time to time. And no complaints would ever have been heard against these wise laws, were it not for the blundering legislation of modern dates,—the blundering legislation of INDISCRIMINATE Free-trade. The people of England went Free-trade mad from the repeal of the Corn Laws. They seem not to fully understand where a line of most prudent demarcation should be drawn; but rushed precipitately into an insane extreme of indiscriminate Free-trade. That such a great man as Mr. Gladstone, should be guilty of so great a legislative blunder, is, I admit, absolutely incredible. Nevertheless, it is an equally absolute fact that he has done so: and the history of the gradual DECLINE of INDUSTRIAL PROSPERITY in ENGLAND—which dates from a period closely following the REPEAL of the Navigation Laws, and the Commercial Treaty between England and France, will furnish more convincing proof of the immense injury these two laws have inflicted upon the working classes, than ALL the ELOQUENCE the very able oratory of the Cobden Club, and other Free-traders, can evermore possibly produce from the most fertile imagining, and sanguine brains. It is NOT my intention to extract more than I can possibly help of the blundering of the Gladstone Ministry legislation on colonial affairs. But the glaring recklessness exhibited by this Government is so very injurious to the working classes of England, and its equally glaring effects, following so closely on the heels of the enactments—giving thus again most overwhelming proof of the really genuine general industries, new property, and wealth creating power of the Protectionist system, and at the same time the sad poverty-creating effect the Free-trade legislation of the Gladstone Ministry has had on the people of England—I cannot refrain from inserting the following:—

MR. GLADSTONE, PRIME MINISTER OF ENGLAND, CHANCELLOR OF
THE EXCHEQUER, ON WEST INDIAN AFFAIRS,

"With regard," he says, to the West Indian interests, I regret to say that there is indeed little, if anything, that can be done by a Government,—in our view consistently with its more extended duties to the public,—in fulfilment of the demands which the West Indian interest has preferred. With regard to a REDUCTION of the DUTY on sugar—which is one of its requests, in proportion to the FALL in the DUTY on FOREIGN SUGAR,—it is entirely impossible for the Government to hold out the smallest hope that their recommendations or requests can be adopted. 'Spirit duties equalisation,' I also fear can NOT be accomplished. I really feel nothing more remains to be done in that respect, AS the DISTILLERS of this COUNTRY (England) consider that already the duties have been somewhat more than equalised, all things considered, in the case of the West Indies. At all events, we are NOT disposed to propose any change in the law in the nature of an equalisation of the SPIRIT DUTIES as between Colonial and English producers." (I ask you, Australians, how you can be so foolishly infatuated with English Free-trade in the face of such selfishness?)

Further on he states, "the total amount of the manufactures which we send abroad annually, is about £130,000,000 sterling." He admits, "The British Government had precipitated the West Indies into the great difficulties which weigh so heavy upon them." Again, on taxation on tea and sugar, he says, "Take the great change in the CORN LAWS, it may possibly be doubted up to this date, whether you have given them cheap bread; that change, however, is one, is material indeed; yet comparatively immaterial, because you have CREATED a regular and steady TRADE income, which may be stated at £15,000,000 sterling a year; by this trade you have created a correspondingly great demand for the commodities of which they are the PRODUCERS, this labour being the principal element in their production, and it is the enhanced price their labour thus brings so much more than the cheapened price of bread, that forms the main benefit the nation receives from the exchange of commodities. That is," he says, "the principle of a sound political economy, applicable to commercial legislation; and that is the principle on which we will to-night invite the committee to proceed." (But the tea and sugar duties still continue, and are still in favour of the slave productions. But here is something rich coming.) Mr. Gladstone has now come to—

"THE COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE"

came into operation on the 1st July 1860; under which France engages to REDUCE the duty on English coal and coke, on bar and pig iron; and RENEWS her REDUCTION on other articles from 1st October, 1861. So as that after this date the PROHIBITION DUTIES will be reduced to an aggregate of 30 PER CENT. But articles of food do NOT enter into this treaty. "ENGLAND engages on her part to 'ABOLISH IMMEDIATELY and TOTALLY,' ALL DUTIES upon ALL MANUFACTURED GOODS. There will," he adds, "be a SWEEP, SUMMARY, ENTIRE, and ABSOLUTE, of what are known as manufactured goods, FROM the FACE of the BRITISH TARIFF. Further," he adds, "England engages to reduce the duty on BRANDY from 15s. per gallon to the level of the colonial duty, viz., 8s. 2d. per gallon. Also the duty on foreign wines (Louis Napoleon took care to insert the French wines) from 5s. 1d. to 3s. per gallon, &c." The Treaty is to last ten years, and notice of intention to alter or abolish must be given. How ever the people of England allowed this intolerable enactment to remain in force so long, I am at a loss to divine. Well, what is the consequence of these adverse laws on the industries of England? My reply is, "universal depression" in the trades, manufactures, collieries, &c., general want of remunerative employment, strikes, and genuine inability to comply, &c., depopulation by emigration where practicable.

But let the English people, the press, and the government, settle their own disputes. I have read enough to sicken me of the strife in those places where strife may not exist; I cannot say ignorance, it is party against party. Mr. Gladstone must be fully alive to the impropriety of his late legislation. Mr. Disraeli is now a Protectionist; what may he not be were Mr. Gladstone a Protectionist? If the people will not open their own eyes, necessity will. If you Australians will

not see yourselves free from legislative scheming, you alone will have yourselves to blame; you have the power in your own hands; the people of England had NOT. "If you will not listen to reason she will assuredly rap your knuckles." (Franklyn.) "An Englishman observed a stone rolling down a staircase. It bumped on every stair till it came to the bottom; there of course, it rested. 'That stone,' said he, 'resembles the national debt of my country;—it has bumped on every grade of the community, but its weight rests on the lowest.'—(Dr. COLQUHOUN on Labourers, page 31). The wisdom and wealth of centuries is to be destroyed by a few bungling modern idiots, in the face of nations before having been forced to repent a temporary deviation from the true, certain, and faithful path of Protection to your own native industries.

The bare idea of Mr. Gladstone making such a CLEAN SWEEP of ALL the DUTIES upon ALL MANUFACTURED GOODS, in the very face of a 30 per cent. duty being maintained by the French, not only against foreigners but in this very commercial treaty with England, was really more than I was prepared to learn. I really could NOT, for a time, believe my own eyes; nor my own senses. I read the matter over several times before I could be convinced it was absolutely in print and ON RECORD. When it is borne in mind that France has a POPULATION nearly double the numbers of England, viz.: France in 1866, 38,192,064; England in 1871, 22,704,108; I may say fully double up to dates; and that the French manufactures are principally silks, kid gloves, superior ladies' boots, shoes, silk stockings, wines, brandies, and numerous descriptions of fancy goods, flowers, &c., which, by reason of their great population and the nature of their soil and climate, they have ever been able to undersell the English in their own markets; and that they are able to manufacture every description of article of necessity or use cheaper than the English; the absurdity of the treaty, as far as the English manufacturers are concerned, will be still more glaringly apparent. But you will be told that France has little or no coal and iron; even so, this difference is but trifling. England has to import her best iron, all her cotton, wool, hides, tallow, &c., &c.

In support of my statements relative to the absurdity of the English Free-trade system of legislation, I will here insert the following extracts; the first is from a Melbourne paper (the *Age* I think), viz.:—"The number of letters in the *London Times*, praising the skill, taste, and intelligence of American workmen, and warning Great Britain that the United States of America will be her greatest rival in the arts of production, is causing no little self-gratulation here" (from an American paper). There can be no doubt that under a policy of Protection, America has made such strides in ALL the manufactures, that she is now very nearly in a condition to commence a foreign trade with every hope of success. She has done so already, to some extent, in many branches of hardware, woodenware, cotton goods, and carpetings; and her commerce is susceptible of great development. The Britons who came here expecting to see at the CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION a proof of the blessings of Free-trade, are wonderfully "CREST-FALLEN." The nations which have made the best show at this Exhibition—America, France, and Russia—are those in which the policy of Protection prevails!! The world has seen this, and if this in itself, is not yet enough to crush out of existence for ever, any and all idea of benefitting by Free-trade, I really know not what will. Not one instance of Free-trade ascendancy was exhibited at this great exhibition of national progress. And, had England gained the highest place in the arts and sciences, even then Free-traders could NOT claim any advantage, as English manufacturers were cradled, fostered, and reared under the never-failing prosperity of Protection; yes, and the strictest system known to the world was maintained by England till 1842; till the REPEAL of the "NAVIGATION LAWS" and the "COMMERCIAL TREATY" with France. And during the years FOLLOWING THESE REPEALS, a most fearful series of very sad reverses have been the result. I will draw your attention to the statements, not only of the press of England and her colonies, but also of those of Mr. TAYLOR, the deputed English Free-trade lecturer, sent from England to Australia, to show that Mr. Gladstone's Free-trade legislation has not only brought idleness, want, destitution, and absolute hunger amongst the manufacturing classes—thence to the farming classes—and thence to the labouring classes, at least, all over England; but that the cry of "Protection"—yes, absolutely, the cry of Protection against the importations of "foreign products," especially against manufactures—is now, and has been for some time past, raised in various parts of England.

The *Age*, Melbourne, 10th November, 1876, states:—"The extraordinary depression in the industrial world of Great Britain, is the subject of much comment and concern, both among the economists and manufacturers at home; and the Free-traders of Melbourne may—if they have not completely sealed their eyes and ears—gain a lesson. They will find this depression, almost unanimously, attributed to the competition to which the manufacturing interests of England are being exposed in various quarters, but especially from America. The '*Pall Mall Gazette*' dwells, without any disguise, upon 'the rivalry which must be expected from the States, as one of the most alarming and portentous signs of the times,' and does not hesitate to ascribe it to the effects of PROTECTION stimulating industries and production. It points out that it is the abundance of her iron ore and her coalfields that has raised England to her present manufacturing eminence, and that there is every reason to believe that in the United States, like causes will produce like effects." Another Free-trade journal, the '*Globe*,' is still more candid, says the *Age* of Melbourne: "It warns the English free-traders, in language which may have been heard at any time for the last six years in the Protectionist press and on the Protectionist platform of Victoria, that it is 'ABSURD to attribute to Protection the commercial depression from which the United States may be suffering at the present time,' and that 'under Protection industries have been founded in America, which would not otherwise have had a beginning.'"

I fully concur in the following remarks of the *Age* on the above statements in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Globe*, that: "It is scarcely necessary to say that in this concession will be found ALL that any Protectionist, either in Victoria or elsewhere, advocates for the system." I will NOT allow that any loss arises to a people out of Protection to a manufacturer; for reasons already explained previously in this work. This is absolutely impossible! Protection was NEVER accorded at the expense of a community. The producer is the first consideration, the consumer only second! No matter who disputes this fact: it remains still a fact, that an article must be produced before it can be consumed. If you will not purchase of your own producer, you must from a foreigner, and when YOUR MEANS OF PURCHASE BE EXHAUSTED, you find yourself in this position: that YOUR ONCE PRODUCER is NOW ONLY A CONSUMER on charity; hence you have NO, absolutely NO PRODUCERS to rely upon, and you have NO MEANS of purchase; or at most, very miserable means indeed.

Dr. Colquhoun has thoroughly explained these facts, and I have extracted them in previous pages: in simple and few words, "A NATION is like a hive of bees, KILL the LABOURERS and the whole hive will be destroyed." There is not a nation on earth that does not exist EXCLUSIVELY on the labourers: it is the labourers who pay kings and emperors; navy and army; CIVIL and other PUBLIC SERVICE, all the property created yearly is by the labourer. The *Globe* further states, says the *Age*, "The people of the United States could NOT have made a beginning in many branches of industry in which they have made progress, without the stimulus of Protection; and if they succeeded, THE RESULTS WILL JUSTIFY AN ECONOMICAL POLICY THAT MUST BRING GREAT BENEFITS TO THE NATION." I have extracted the above from the *Age* of 10th November, 1876, and MY REPLY to the absurd statements, alleged by the *Age* to have been expressed by the Collins-street Free-trader on a previous day, is simply—"READ THIS BOOK AND FOR EVERMORE KEEP THE PEACE."

Another Victorian newspaper, of November, 1876, states (and this I read in Sydney papers also):—"Bankruptcies and strikes, on an unprecedentedly large scale, constitute a conspicuous feature in the commercial and industrial history of Free-trade England at this present time. In Dundee (Scotland) several large factories have closed, and 2000 hands are thrown out of work. At Sheffield Messrs. Manuel and Son, the great cabinetmakers, have discharged all the Union hands in their employ; and there are strikes reported among the colliers, chairmakers, and ship joiners. This is not all. Not only are the native industries of England in a state of unparalleled depression, but the cause of it is shown to be the competition to which they have been exposed by the production of foreign countries. Not long ago we quoted the confession of the Sheffield hardware manufacturers, that American cutlery not only supplies their own markets to the exclusion of English goods, 'but can compete with Sheffield houses in the Canadian, Continental, and colonial markets.' The consequence is, English manufacturers are moving to the United States, where they will have their products protected. The *Leeds Mercury*

had previously sounded warning notes of the prospects of the English manufacturer at home and abroad, and that he has a very trying time of it. Competition has been great, profits cut down to the lowest margin, and in too many cases sales have not been worth the candles. And the cause of all this was declared to be the determined efforts of various Continental countries to make their own tariffs as thoroughly Protective for themselves as possible. As a matter of course wages of ironworkers have been reduced seventeen and a half per cent., the ironstone miners fourteen per cent., and the colliers five per cent. If we turn to America, on the other hand," continues this editor, "what do we find? That under the Protectionist system the remuneration of the labourer is steadily advancing, as the following figures, from a work recently published by Mr. Edward Young, chief of the Bureau of Statistics, entitled "Labour in Europe and America," will show:—

WEEKLY WAGES IN ROLLING MILLS (1874).

	PENNSYLVANIA.		MIDDLEBOROUGH (ENG.)	
	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.
Puddlers	21	15	10	50
Top and bottom rollers	27	50	6	05
Rail mill rollers	40	00	29	05
Merchant mill rollers	36	83	12	10
Machinists	15	56	8	59
Engineers	15	24	8	47
Labourers	8	58	4	65
Blacksmiths	13	49	6	00
Ironmoulders	14	00	6	57
Pattern-makers	14	59	7	01

WEEKLY WAGES IN COTTON MILLS.

	PENNSYLVANIA.		MANCHESTER (ENG.)	
	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.
Overseers	15	25	10	89
Draw-frame tenders	4	20	2	66
Speeder tenders	40	72	3	14
Grinders	7	25	5	22
Strippers	7	92	5	32

WEEKLY WAGES IN WOOLLEN MILLS.

	AVERAGE OF U. S.		DEWSBURY (ENG.)	
	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.
Wool sorters	10	94	6	29
Wool washers	8	21	4	36
Dyers	10	50	5	08
Spinners	8	85	7	26
Warpers and beamers	8	81	5	08
Weavers	7	41	4	84
Burlers	4	98	2	90
Dressers or giggers	8	11	4	84
Press tenders	8	91	5	32

WEEKLY WAGES IN SHIPBUILDING.

	CRIMP AND SONS, PHILADELPHIA.		JOHN ELDER AND CO., GLASGOW.	
	Dols.	Cents.	Dols.	Cents.
Machinist (best)	18	60	7	50
Do. (ordinary)	15	00	6	70
Pattern makers	16	50	7	72
Engine fitters	16	50	6	80
Blacksmiths	16	50	7	26
Riveters and caulkers	13	50	7	00
Fitters	17	00	7	18
Labourers	9	00	4	10
Carters	10	00	5	80

Here again is another instance of the high rates of wages in Protectionist countries, and the lower rates in Free-trade England. And if England will persist in her Free-trade legislation, she must, with the increase of population, descend to the level of slave-labour cheapness to keep foreign importations out of the country. Emigration, of course, will remedy overcrowding of population. But this may also be overdone, as we have seen, not only in these Australian colonies, but as is now actually the case in America. The want of employment in England caused hundreds to migrate to America; it was overdone, and artisans may be employed there at cheaper rates than were ruling in England. Still no remedy came, as there were enough hands previously in America. Hence the report of imaginary depression in the trade of the United States. But we never hear the Yankees now-a-days calling for more Protection. No, no; their fiscal policy is decided, settled, and satisfactory. Under its beneficial protectorate they are progressing; the true American employer to-day retires to-morrow; his son or heir succeeds him and progresses in wealth till he also retires and leaves his business to a successor: not an insolvent or sickly business, but a trade extending in every range, and threatening all English manufactures with a similar annihilation to that inflicted by England on Irish manufactures;—with this difference only, that the Irish weavers had England to fly to for refuge or employment. But this the English manufacturer has found out before now he cannot do, i.e., he cannot migrate to another BRITISH possession with any reasonable degree of hope of success, as he well knows, or at least he ought to know, that England has well-nigh ruined all her colonies with her over-glutting and bleeding process of Free-trade. If the Yankees had allowed the English to manufacture all their necessities of domestic life, shipbuilding, &c., where now would be their unprecedented prosperity, wealth, power, commerce, and general industries? Experience replies—they would never have had an existence, and hence could NOT be known: America and Ireland would be as first and second volume of “Free-trade ruins.” The Americans have no cause to send a lecturer to the antipodes, as the English have done, to endeavour to flood other countries with their native surplus labour. No, no. American Protection will never come to that. But we have manifest and painful witnesses of the evil effects of English Free-trade, not only in England and within the limits of their own island, but absolutely in every one of the British possessions at home and abroad. Mr. H. Taylor, the English Free-trade lecturer, tells us that “In Lancashire alone there was, it had been calculated, steam power enough to do the work of the whole world.” Again he says, in reply to a cry of England’s decline: “It was true that in England, as well as in some other places, there was now and then some considerable depression in manufacturing trades, but, TILL THE LAST FEW YEARS, England never stood higher. But,” he adds, “England will never decline till she loses all her coal and iron.” “Yes, and her colonies,” from a voice in the meeting, in which Mr. Taylor concurred by repeating the words. “When,” he says, “England can no longer manufacture then she would decline. If you saw England declining, if you saw the toiling masses there languishing for want of employment, and so much in the colony that they could develop, you would not have the heart to protect yourselves against them.” He had been sent to Australia to see what opportunities were there for what was called the surplus population of England. I know of my own knowledge Mr. Taylor spoke the above words at public meetings in Melbourne, but I have now the report before me, and no man can say this is not extra proof of the failure of Free-trade; of the failure of the repeal of the Navigation Laws; of the failure of Mr. Gladstone’s Commercial Treaty with France, as regards the great good these Acts were said to bring to the working classes of England. For, bear in mind, all this adversity has come to England since that date—viz., 1860. But what a prospect for you Australians, this, Mr. Taylor pictures forth. He distinctly tells us, that one locality, a mere province of this little speck on the globe, has absolutely within her own compass “enough steam power to do all the work of the entire world.” Granting that all England could only do this, what an idea for the FREE-TRADERS of Australia to tell us we should not ask for Protection against such overwhelming resources for cheap manufacturing! While it is still on the lips of the same Mr. Taylor that, in England, there are toiling masses of human beings languishing for want of employment, and that “he was sent to Australia to find an opening for these toiling masses, &c.

Now, if the English manufacturers, with all their steam-power and machinery, find they cannot prosper or get employment in consequence of the free-trading of England, how on earth can we Australians be expected to do battle in manufacturing against those nations? We cannot do so. Nor can the English live under **INDISCRIMINATE** Free-trade. There is not any nation on earth that could do this better than New South Wales were she possessed of such established steam-power machinery and cheap labour as even England has. England is too dependent on other places for her supplies of raw materials to eclipse either France or America in some of their natural manufactures, and the sooner England acknowledges this fact, and thence protects her people with a wise discriminating legislation, the better it will be for those famishing thousands sought to be thrown upon the impoverished. Those immigrants who do arrive now in these colonies do not move off as some amongst us would fain make people believe. Hundreds of them are to be seen in our midst still **UNEMPLOYED**. Hundreds more are provided for in the Immigrants' Home, doing little or nothing. Some of them are made to **BREAK STONES**, some **bag-making**, others **oakum-picking**, and such like. In New South Wales lately they have been sent up-country to shift for themselves, or starve and perish. This was done to men with families included, and were it not for the **CHARITABLY** disposed in the neighbourhood (Yass), such as Mr. BARBER, they most likely would have perished from the inclemency of the weather and hunger. They were several days and nights under a tarpaulin lent them. Do they fare any better at the "Cape of Good Hope?" I have an extract before me which, after speaking of the exploits of Sir John Cooke, C.E., relative to the docks at Table Bay and Port Elizabeth, says the **FOLLOWING** is **PUBLISHED** in the *Mossel Bay Advertiser* of 20th September, 1876, under the heading of "Police Court Intelligence." A man of the name of Floring was charged with stealing 10s., the property of Paul Pinnear, of the same place. Prisoner was **HIRED** to complainant at the rate of 6s. **PER MONTH** and food. He was found guilty and sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour. The magistrate remarked upon the insufficiency of the remuneration, saying, "**THE FARMERS WERE COMPLAINING OF THE STATE** of the **LABOUR MARKET**, and yet **CONTRACTING WITH ABLE-BODIED MEN** as **GENERAL FARM SERVANTS** for the **ABSDURD** sum of 6s. per month and their food." And **THIS WAS NOT** the **FIRST** case of the kind that had been brought under his notice. I know of my own personal experience that this fellow (the farmer) has too many of his stamp in New South Wales, and I also know that the latter colony is **NOT** one jot better off than the above locality. I allude of course to farmers up the country; there is absolutely no employment to be had after shearing and harvest are over, and it would be difficult for any man to get employment even though he offered his services for his food. With this state of want of employment in the agricultural districts, Free-trade in the city employments, the want of employment for colliers, manufacturers, &c., &c., I will conclude by placing before you the advice of one who, I have been informed, is one of the leading woolbrokers of Melbourne and a Free-trader. As this gentleman published his name to his letter in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of, I think, October, 1876, in the hope, no doubt, that it may carry weight, I will further gratify his ambition by giving his letter a place herein, with his name, and *pro bono publico*:—

"CHINA AND AUSTRALIAN WOOL.

"To the Editor of the 'Herald.'

"SIR,—In your issue of August 31st ultimo, there appears a letter signed 'W. H.,' asking—Is New South Wales prepared for a crisis? The same question might be asked of each of the colonies—Is Australia prepared for a crisis, not only by having to defend her ports from hostile fleets, but is she at all prepared to see her **TRADE DESTROYED**, and her **WOOL LIE ROTTING IN THE SHEDS AND WAREHOUSES IN THESE COLONIES**, which is a contingency most certain to follow, should the three great manufacturing countries, England, Germany, and France, happen to be engaged in **WAR** at one and the same time? The question now to be answered is—In the event of such a calamity, what will be the value of wool in Sydney or Melbourne? In the present state of European affairs it is quite within

the bounds of probability that along with the accustomed toast and egg on the breakfast table, we may also find our favourite morning journal containing a cablegram sounding the first alarm of war, with the full knowledge that such a calamity would spread ruin and misery broadcast over the land; not confined to the squatter or selector classes only, but affecting every man, woman, and child in the colonies, from the boy who vends this newspaper to the Chief Secretary who may read it. Though the subject is one of national importance, it is well known there are a large number of the people who see nothing to alarm them by a fall in wool, because they are simple enough to imagine it will only hurt the 'squatter' class; but I would wish to point out to them that a serious fall in the value of our wool is unlike a similar fall in any of Australia's other productions or industries, which would injure a comparatively small number. Whatever increases and fosters our wool trade, tends more to the real prosperity of the country than the gold discoveries many times over. I have this great hope to animate me, that some day I may see Australia not so utterly dependent upon the state of European politics, but to see her what she must eventually become, mistress of the Eastern trade. Our danger consists in the probability that the great staple upon which mainly depends the prosperity of these colonies, may, in a single day, become a mere worthless drug in our markets. Protection having practically closed American ports to our wool, there exists no other country whatever so exactly suited as CHINA is to RECEIVE and to WORK UP ALL OUR WOOL AT ONCE. No matter how small a quantity we could manage to MAKE them TAKE at first, yet in a country with the population of China their requirements would soon greatly exceed our power of supply. They have at the present time many thousands of looms at work making various cotton fabrics, and it seems FEASIBLE that a small OFFER of REMUNERATION would INDUCE any one of THESE MANUFACTURERS to SUBSTITUTE a WOOLLEN YARN for their cotton weft, and there you have at once a 'union cloth,' MADE BY A CHINAMAN IN HIS OWN LOOM, and you TEACH HIM THE FIRST STEP TOWARDS BECOMING a MANUFACTURER of CLOTH almost without his own knowledge or sanction. The CHINAMAN would find himself the MANUFACTURER of an article he had never before seen, except as imported from Europe 100 per cent. dearer than he could make it for himself. To ESTABLISH at SHANGHAI, or some other port, a small factory exclusively to make yarn, would most probably be the initiating of an immense trade between these colonies and China, from which Sydney would receive the greatest share of benefit. Ultimately, and at no great distance of time, this trade would change China, &c. To establish an entirely new market for wool is an object I have diligently sought to bring about for years past, not with the idea that we will ever effect such a revolution as would deprive the English market of the greatest part of our wools, but simply to see our utterly helpless position somewhat strengthened, and these colonies in a state of comparative commercial safety during European wars. The experiment of starting such a factory as I have mentioned for making of yarns, and so TEACHING the COTTON WEAVERS of CHINA to use wool as well as cotton. The whole cost of such an experiment, together with all the material necessary to carry it on for a year or two, would not amount to a greater sum of money than some of our wealthy squatters could singly afford to lose, and not be much hurt thereby; but looking at it as a national undertaking, the sum actually required is ridiculously small and insignificant compared with the possible results."—MONCKTON SYNNOT.

I do not consider it necessary to insert the remaining portion of the letter, as it principally consists of the press opinions on this subject. When I read this letter in Sydney on the day of issue, I immediately wrote a simple reply to it; but the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* refused (as usual) to insert it, or any communication in favour of Protection to our native industries. I soon after wrote again to the *Herald*, condemning his conduct, and told him that I had now finished a work on the political state of New South Wales, and that I would not forget to publish his conduct in Victoria, where I was going in a few days.

Now, my dear reader, with regard to the above letter of Monckton Synnot, I am sure you will admit it is most cruelly shameful to not only thus INSULT OUR OWN MANUFACTURERS by PUBLICLY GIVING PREFERENCE to CHINAMEN, by REFUSING TO ASSIST OUR INFANT ATTEMPTS TO RAISE WOOLLEN FACTORIES IN OUR MIDST, and give employment to thousands of our people; but by REFUSING to PROTECT OUR OWN MANUFACTURERS, and exposing them to the overwhelming competition of the

unequalled steam power and machinery, and cheaper, or slave labour, rates of old firmly-established foreign manufactories; but by advocating repeatedly, year after year, that we had much better not only employ the Chinese, teach them the art, but absolutely to give the Chinese manufacturer extra benefits, the raw material and money assistance, the old English bounties, to ENABLE THEM to do what he refuses to let Australians have or do. He justly admits our present dependence on the English wool markets, and says, "WAR would be a calamity spreading ruin and misery broadcast over Australia and all classes, &c." I have shown before in this work what America did, and was FORCED to do, during the War of Independence with England; and, with the single exception of our connection with England in case of a war as above alluded to, I am of unflinching opinion, indeed I am positively sure, such a war as Mr. Synnot mentions would be the best event that could possibly occur for the permanent, progressive development of ALL our great and unrivalled resources. Till a general European war does rage over the producing nations of Europe, leaving us to provide all necessities of life and domestic necessity for ourselves, I fear the blind, though influential, Free-trade opposition will be too great an obstruction to the general prosperity of these colonies. What an idea it is to think of inducing the squatters of Victoria or New South Wales to give a supply of wool and money assistance to the Chinese to manufacture cloth in China in time of WAR for the Australians! To think of a squatter doing this, in the face of his insane OPPOSITION to PROTECTION LAWS, for the enriching of his own family and the community at large, for fear of the high rates, &c! But I may here observe, the squatter, if he persist in this Free-trade, will bring a heavy and ruinous tax on his estate, stock, and income, to give necessary funds to the ruling power of Government; and this too without any reasonable population to partake of the expenses, as only the old, poor, incompetent, and vicious will stay where there is no remunerative employment; and should an ENEMY catch his wool, or the Chinese-made woollen manufactures, at sea, he may, and most certainly would, lose in this direction also. What a farce also to think of our teaching the Chinaman to manufacture woollens for us, when we can do it for ourselves: when there are hundreds of weavers idle throughout all Australia. Besides, we have woollen factories in these colonies, and no encouragement is offered them. Mr. Monckton Synnot seems to labour under another illusion relative to the importance of the wool market, as he will have it that a fall in the value of wool in England would be a far greater loss to all our population than a fall in the value of any other industry, including gold, many times over. This is a WOOLBROKER'S point of view. But the entire manufacturing and producing world, for centuries gone up to this present period, gives us unmistakable proof that NO NATION can ever reasonably expect to advance without a manufacturing and agricultural population: and more, that it MUST BE PROTECTED ALSO! Australia will NEVER BE MISTRESS OF THE EASTERN TRADE if we have to depend on a CHINAMAN to manufacture our clothes, &c., Mr. Monckton Synnot! With our FREE-TRADE IDLERS, our ports blockaded by gunboats, &c., and China our reliance for supplies, thence indeed our wool may, and most certainly could not fail to "become a worthless drug in our markets." To prevent such a sad occurrence, you, Mr. Monckton Synnot, should change your colours and advocate, with all your esteemed ability and influence, the wise and homely policy of Protection to our native industries. I am fully alive to the importance of a market containing forty-six millions of a population, but not for our raw wool, iron, tin, gold, silver, copper, but for OUR manufactures in these metals and all other articles we can or may in future be enabled to supply. I would NOT, however, go the entire length of the old English Protection, viz., to make it a FELONY the taking of foreign merchandise in return for manufactures. No, I would advocate we take tea and coffee, spices, &c., any merchandise our own colony could not produce, in return for our manufactures. In short, if the Australians will but copy the very jealous enactments of England in her days of ascending and progressing prosperity, they must progress most rapidly; but if they will copy the laws of Free-trade of Mr. GLADSTONE, such, for instance, as is evinced in the Commercial Treaty with France, they, the Australians, can NOT escape loss and final ruin. Why establish a wool-yarn factory at Shanghai, and not at Melbourne or Sydney? I am really at a loss to understand any reasonable cause for this proposition. Are the Chinese more apt to learn than our own people? Even if

they were, surely our own people should get the preference. This cannot be the reason, as Mr. Synnot asks that we should TEACH the Chinaman WEAVER how to use wool in cotton, &c. I must give a plump contradiction to the statement that "SYDNEY WOULD RECEIVE THE GREATEST BENEFIT" from such a system. This is absolutely impossible. If Mr. Synnot really desires patriotically to establish an ENTIRELY NEW market for wool, the commercial history of England, and of the entire world, will point to the NEVER FAILING system of strict, yet duly discriminating, Protection; hence I advise the gentleman to give us his advocating support. It is never too late to learn, but may be to MEND. I fully admit the people of New South Wales do exhibit a most lamentable degree of utter helplessness and shameful dependence, and no man can excuse them or release them from blame, or advocate their cause with impunity! I think Mr. Synnot's brain was "wool gathering" at the time he wrote the above letter; especially so when he came to advocating that, from a "national point of view, the undertaking should be supported by all the colonists," i.e., by the Colonial Treasury, "as the SUM REQUIRED is ridiculously small and insignificant," when compared with the GRAND RESULTS of having humbled ourselves to the necessity of accepting the Chinese to manufacture for us; and this too under the protection of bounties. Now, Victoria is enjoying the beneficial effects of the Protectionist system of legislation. I was not twenty-four hours in Melbourne before I was SATISFIED the REPORTS of the decline of Melbourne circulated in Sydney, were ENTIRELY FALSE. There is not any comparison between the two colonies. Sydney is New South Wales, but Melbourne is NOT Victoria. The more any reasonable man travels in the colonies the more he will have the unquestionable superiority of Victoria rushing into his thoughts: it is unmistakable. The railroads in Victoria improve the industries of the localities they pass through, as well as the numerous large towns and cities. But in New South Wales the railroad absolutely destroys business in every village it has gone through or near; towns are few and far between, cities there are none out of Sydney. Goulbourn was a city till the opening of the Gunning extension of the railroad, and from that date it is well known the local residents sought "OTHER HOMES AND PASTURES NEW." As regards Bathurst, the second inland city, I believe its days of prosperity are also numbered. The people who have any means to remove, either follow the extending railway works, or remove to Sydney. Here they are congested and give to a stranger the appearance of a wealth-creating metropolis. But alas! how very different the real facts are. The gold, copper, tin, wool, hides, tallow, and Crown lands sales and rents, &c., can and will, for a short time longer, keep Sydney in a state of apparent wealth. But when all these resources fail to meet expenses, then you will witness either prohibitory customs duties or a heavy direct system of taxation, and the squatter will see his suicidal folly of supporting Free-traders, the woolbrokers, importers, ship owners, and capitalists. The squatter is a producer, and he should be able to see his best interest lies in a large population as near as possible to his residence or his stations, to save the expense of carriage of his wool, hides (no tallow), beef, mutton, at HIGH PRICES, and no drawbacks for his wool or hides. All others, including the capitalist, will then find a SAFE, LOCAL MEANS of employment for their money, muscles, brains, ships, sons and daughters.

FINIS.



